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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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10 Décembre 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

SHORTCOMINGS IN PARTY WORK IN MINISTRIES DEPLORED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 Sep 85 p 2

[Article by Thima Nika: "The Effectiveness of the Work of Party Organizations in Ministries is Measured by Concrete Results: Studying Volume 46 of the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha"]

[Text] In the wide range of issues embraced by the documents in this volume, an important place is occupied by those which concern the further growth of the leading role of the basic party organizations of ministries and central administrative institutions. The valuable teachings of Comrade Enver regarding this problem, which are presented, especially, in the discussion at the meeting of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee on 24 May 1971, are of strong current importance and constitute a true guide for the communists and party organizations militating in ministries.

"There is no problem concerning the ministry which should not interest the basic organization. If it is observed that the party's directive is not being applied in a certain area, the basic organization intervenes immediately, clarifies the matter, exacts responsibility from the guilty parties and determines measures to fulfill tasks." It is this emphasis of Comrade Enver's which affirms once again that our party of labor, at the leadership of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its apparatus, has always consistently applied the Leninist principle that no important matter may be put into practice without reflection and decision first by the appropriate party organs and organizations. The party organizations of ministries have already accumulated rich experience in this area in the struggle against every manifestation which attempts to damage their leading role. Thus, they have had and continue to have at the center of their attention the struggle against the damaging of the state organs, their duplication and related matters.

The materials in this volume pertain to a six-month period in 1971, when the working masses, led by the party, along with their self-sacrificing work to realize the tasks of the time, were holding wide discussions of the draft plan. Now 14 years later, when we are in the period of discussion of the draft plan for next year and the whole eighth five-year plan, the working masses are speaking competently about the composition of a plan which will be as real and mobilizing as possible, to combat two mistaken tendencies which are criticized in Comrade Enver's work: the composition of plans which are easy to fulfill

and "stratospheric plans," with no basis and hence impossible to fulfill. Within this framework, as is well known, the ministries have their own place and role. The party organizations in the ministries have discussed and determined concrete tasks for themselves and the apparatus they lead. Thus, the communists and cadres of the Ministry of Industry and Mines, the Ministry of Energy and the Ministry of Agriculture have organized work well to involve the opinion of the masses. But this cannot be said of the other ministries. The cadres of the Ministry of Light Industry and the Food Industry and those of the Ministry of Communal Economy, for example, can and must work more skillfully to involve the opinion of the masses and to improve several quantitative and qualitative indices of the plan. But composition of the plan, regardless of how much it is studied, is only the first step; the decisive thing, Comrade Enver stresses, is the work to put it into practice. The 12th plenum of the party Central Committee also emphasized this problem. Comrade Ramiz Alia treated it widely as well, during meetings in the Korce and Kolonje districts and, most recently, in Shkoder District, where many urgent and very important tasks concerning the complete fulfillment of tasks in all sectors were stressed again.

The organization and direction of work have decisive importance in the successful resolution of problems by the ministries. Comrade Enver emphasizes this and this teaching has been and continues to be proven daily in practice by many examples. But sound and effective organization and direction cannot be acquired without combatting several bureaucratic, liberal and technocratic manifestations which are observed.

"...We must do still more to eliminate mistaken views and manifestations which arise sometimes and which exist, such as bureaucracy, intellectualism and routine. We struggle against them every day and we will continue to struggle for a long time yet, since they do not disappear immediately," Comrade Enver has stressed. The struggle against them, therefore, is a long one; it is a fierce class struggle for the minds and hearts of people, for their formation with lofty revolutionary ideals to the benefit of socialism. But practice proves that not all communists and cadres in ministries have clear ideological concepts regarding bureaucracy and liberalism. Bureaucracy is seen by some, for example, as simply a practical phenomenon - a question of producing or not producing official documents, calling or not calling many meetings, issuing or not issuing orders from offices, etc.

Naturally, these things exist and it is necessary always to keep the struggle against them burning. But these matters must be viewed more deeply, at the root and in the philosophy of these phenomena. This has often been said, for example, with respect to the timely compilation of work plans. But what happens? There is unjustifiable bureaucratic procrastination in this area. Evidence of this is provided by the fact that out of about 180 limited time projects whose construction will begin in 1986, plans for only 77 of them have been completed so far, while for 22 projects, the ministries think that the plans will not be completed even by the end of the year (!). Particular backwardness in this area is demonstrated by the Ministry of Light Industry and the Food Industry, as well as the Ministry of Energy, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry

of Education and Culture. But it is an inexcusable attitude on the part of the party organizations in these ministries that until a few days ago, when the party committee of Region No. 1 analyzed this matter, they had not dealt with it in order to discover the causes and make those responsible answer for their actions.

The work of a ministry does not go on only in the office, but at the grass roots as well. In order to evaluate whether a basic party organization or the communists of a ministry work well or badly, the clearest view is the one from below, in the sector that belongs to it, at the grass roots, where their actions radiate and are reflected. All these lead to essential requirements set by the party for the continual strengthening of links with the masses. The warmer, more systematic, more organized and more sincere these links are, the less bureaucracy occurs in the work of the ministries and the better tasks are fulfilled and overfulfilled. If better production and financial indices were achieved this year, for example, especially with regard to wheat, this means, among other things, that there is a more revolutionary method and style on the part of the cadres of the Ministry of Agriculture and that there are good links with the masses. But are these links at the required level among all communists and cadres in the ministries? Efforts are not lacking: they have increased continually. Nevertheless, mistakes and weaknesses are observed. The work method of some communists and cadres of the Ministry of Agriculture, for example, are observed to be one-sided. For example, scientific research work is not pursued with the same purposefulness as the production plan. This is the reason that there is a lag in some studies on the production of fodder crops, vegetables, etc., studies on electric aerothermal heating in greenhouses, as well as studies on mechanizing the opening of permanent drainage channels. Or again, while the communists and cadres of the operational directorates have increased the number of days spent at the grass roots, this has not occurred in the case of the functional directorates, who have still not achieved this index at the required level.

But the past situation at the grass roots is only one aspect. The other, more important, aspect is what goes on there and what traces it leaves. There are some cadres at ministries who go to the grass roots hastily and unprepared, in order to advance. Others manifest officious attitudes in communicating with the masses. The party's instructions on strengthening links with the masses is understood simply as a task involving going down to the grass roots, meeting the head or his deputy, the section chief and the director of an enterprise. "These," emphasized Comrade Ramiz Alia at a meeting with the cadres of Korce District, "are not links of the cadres with the masses, but links of cadres with cadres. Links with the masses involve going to the worker and the co-operativist, to the pupil and the soldier. Learning about their troubles and worries, resolving them on the spot and preventing their resolution by favoritism and interference, by official documents and bureaucratic orders." The activities of groups from the ministries who go to the grass roots must also be measured from this angle. What happens? There are some groups who go to the grass roots and shut themselves up in offices, occupying themselves with paperwork. Certainly, paperwork is important, but it must never replace broad, concrete work with people. Have workers from the railroad transport directorate

of the Ministry of Communications ever gone to the freight train station in Tirana, where, as we said, there are traces of their activities and the situation still continues to be as unsatisfactory as ever? The party teaches that when someone goes to the grass roots to render assistance and exercise control, he should look first of all at the people. Not only that, but the communist or cadre, when he goes from the ministry to the grass roots, must give an account of his work, be self-critical regarding his faults and mistakes, and then require an accounting from others.

The improvement of the leading role of the party organizations in the ministries is aided by a correct understanding and application of revolutionary criticism and self-criticism, as emerges clearly from the documents in volume 46 of Comrade Enver's works. The achievements in the fruitful use of this powerful ideological weapon are already known and were demonstrated once again during the campaign for rendering accounts and holding new elections in the party. But in this area, along with results, there are also shortcomings. In some basic party organizations, a harmful phenomenon is observed, namely the idea that the "aim" of criticism is not the same for a communist in an administrative position as it is for an ordinary communist. This indicates that what Comrade Enver always stressed has not been understood by everyone: all party members are equal before the party organization. At meetings, the activities of any communist may be criticized, without distinction, regardless of the position and responsibility he holds. The communists in management positions have an important role here themselves: they must set an example in the development of constructive criticism and self-criticism. As Comrade Enver has pointed out, it is necessary for them to raise themselves to that level of consciousness where they have the communist courage to aim the "machine guns" first of all at themselves and then at others.

Present conditions are such that they require the communists and cadres of ministries to take more responsibility in realizing tasks and overcoming every difficulty. This is achieved not through complaints, laziness and procrastination, but by discovering new energy and working with boldness, initiative and competence. From this standpoint - while keeping at the center of attention the valuable instructions given by Comrade Ramiz Alia at meetings in Korce, Kolonje and Shkoder - the party organizations of the ministries are intensifying their activity and increasing their critical spirit in expanding objectives which they have determined for the movement called "Standard-bearers of the application of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings."

12249/12795
CSO: 2100/9

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FINANCE MINISTER LER'S RESIGNATION EXPLAINED

Luxembourg LUXEMBURGER WORT in German 30 Oct 85 p 13

[Article by Wolfgang Broer, Vienna: "CSSR Finance Minister Forced to Resign Because He Had Looted Safes"]

[Text] There is still speculation and uncertainty concerning the surprising replacement of the only 57-year-old CSSR Finance Minister Leopold Ler which was reported in a small notice by the Prague party organ RUDE PRAVO in early October. The official version--resignation at his own request and for health reasons--is given little credence. Informed circles in Prague and exile groups in the West offer logical reasons per se for Ler's departure: he is said to have illegally enriched himself, to have neglected his supervisory duties in his ministry and to have been politically too ambitious. In detail the speculations concerning Ler's replacement run in the following directions: "His name is mentioned in connection with the corruption scandal in the CSSR customs guard, with Director General Ladislav Kusy, who for this reason was sentenced to 10 years in prison this year. A total of 250 customs officers were arrested, convicted, fired or demoted. They had permitted drugs to go through and part of the drugs were even officially processed in the "Slovakofarma" pharmaceutical enterprise. Since the entire customs administration is incorporated under the competence of the finance ministry, and thus was subordinated to Ler, the minister had political responsibility for the criminal machinations in the customs service. This incident came very handy to the political opponents within the party and government.

On this occasion they dug up, according to assertions by opposition circles in Prague, a very old but thus far unused transaction by Leopold Ler, which, by the way, has also become known in the West through the CSSR defector Frolik. In 1958, it is rumored, Leopold Ler, in his capacity as deputy finance minister at that time together with the then director of the State Bank, Dr. Otto Pohl, and the secret service colonel and later director of Filmexport, Jiri Rybin, is said to have made the following discovery: in the safes and depots of the State Bank there were also those which had not been used for years or decades, as the record of the visits showed. Some of the safe deposit boxes belonged to rich Prague Jews whose assets had accidentally remained in the safes after Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia following the establishment of the Reich protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

Another part of the discovered unused safe deposit boxes belonged to Czech citizens who had departed in time before Hitler's invasion and to persons who fled abroad after the seizure of power by the communists in February 1948.

It was a real treasure that fell into the hands of the Ler, Pohl and Rybin trio as a result of the inspection: gold, jewels, antiques, art objects, valuable stamp collections, cash and foreign currency, savings and checkbooks, accounts at Swiss banks.

Instead of turning everything over to the CSSR State Treasury, the trio also kept part of it and set up private accounts and safes in Switzerland. All this, it is asserted, was well known to the inner leadership circle of the CSSR. The fact that nothing was done earlier against Leopold Ler is explained by the fact that from the start of his political career he had close ties to the security service in his own country as well as to the Soviet secret service, KGB.

With the new secret service chief in Moscow, with the anticorruption campaign vehemently pursued by Party chief Mikhail Gorbachev, which is being increasingly emulated also in the East European fraternal countries, dark clouds gathered over Leopold Ler. He lost his guardian angels with the security service in Prague and in Moscow.

12356

CSO: 2300/58

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JOINT PROJECTS WITH FINNS DISCUSSED BY CSSR AMBASSADOR

Helsinki KANSAN UUTISET in Finnish 19 Oct 85 p 5

[Article: "Czechoslovakia Seeks New Modes for Increasing Trade"]

[Text] Czechoslovakia hopes that trade with Finland will increase along with the realization of common projects in Third World countries.

Trade between Finland and Czechoslovakia has remained at the same level for years and there are probably no possibilities for increasing it by means of traditional exchange of goods. Because of this we are constantly searching for new cooperative ventures says Eugen Laczo, a trade counsellor for the Czechoslovakian embassy.

For the time being the only cooperative venture realized in the Third World has included the work subcontracted by Metex for the power plant built by the Czechs. According to Laczo comparable deals are underway, for example with Egypt.

In the future such enterprises could originate also in the metal industry and negotiations for cooperation have been conducted with Rautaruukki and Outokumpu among others. On the other hand possibilities for providing equipment for modernizing the Czechoslovakian metal industry may open up for the Finnish enterprises says Laczo.

Laczo hopes that the Finns will also invite the Czechoslovaks to join them in their own projects in the Third World. As an example of this, he cites the cooperation with Rauma-Repola in Brazil.

New possibilities may also open up for the imports of both countries. Both Finland and Czechoslovakia manufacture tractors for example. Why should we not combine imports in some areas and thus save expenses for both by large scale importing.

To speed trade between the countries Czechoslovakia is organizing for October-November of next year a large trade exhibit at the Helsinki exhibition center showing the industry of the country. The planning of the exhibit has already begun.

According to the press agent of the Czechoslovakian foreign trade ministry, Zdenek Cervený, visiting Finland, 30 Czechoslovakian foreign trade companies and 200 production units with their Finnish representatives will take part in the exhibit.

The purpose of the exhibition is to show Czechoslovakian industry and commerce to the Finnish consumers and to interest Finnish trade representatives in creating new modes of cooperation, Cervený says.

Trade in Balance

For the first time last year Czechoslovakia's western trade surpassed the level of the previous year, 1981, reaching about 7.5 billion dollars. From 1982 on trade has been a surplus for Czechoslovakia.

The exchange between Finland and Czechoslovakia has also achieved a near balance during the last years. Finnish exports reached a good 306 million markkas last year and Czechoslovakia's imports reached over 327 million markkas. Czechoslovakia's share of Finnish foreign trade is about 0.4 percent.

It is characteristic of the trade between the countries that both exports and imports are comprised mostly of refined products. The backbone of Finnish exports consists of products of the metals industry and cellulose. The largest categories of Czechoslovakian imports are the metal industry, textiles and clothing.

12989/13167

CSO: 3617/25

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION SAID CURTAILED; NUMBER OF NEW PRIESTS

Luxembourg LUXEMBURGER WORT in German 15 Oct 85 p 3

[Excerpts] Bonus for Withdrawal From Religious Instruction

(Kathpress) In Czechoslovakia a teacher receives a special bonus for every pupil who withdraws from religious instruction. At the same time, teachers have the responsibility not to let religious pupils become tops in their class. These practices of state religious policy in CSSR schools were revealed by the Slovak Catholic teacher Jana Micianova in an interview that just reached the West. The fate of the Slovak teacher had caused a lot of attention recently: She lost her teaching position because she had registered her son for religious instruction. This decision of the school authority was confirmed by Slovak courts on two levels of appeal. According to the judgment, Jana Micianova had violated her "teacher oath," which states that pedagogues must implement the "policy of the CSSR Communist Party" and have "to educate" the students "in line with the Marxist-Leninist ideology."

As Jana Micianova reported in the interview that has now become known, it is part of the aims of the CSSR schools especially to reduce the number of participants in religious instruction. The bonus which a classroom teacher receives for each pupil "lured away" from religious instruction amounts to 200 crowns. For this purpose, the teachers have a list of names of those pupils who attend religious instruction. At the same time, the teachers are provided with an opportunity to lower the grades of these pupils. Jana Micianova cited an example from the school in which she was active until her dismissal. There the director sharply criticized a teacher because a pupil in her class who attended religious instruction was top pupil in the class. "He goes to church and attends religious instruction. How can this pupil be a model for the class? That must be changed by the end of the year," Micianova quoted the director.

As the Slovak teacher further announced, especially the registration for religious instruction is particularly difficult. Both parents must sign in front of the school director, this form is then forwarded to the parents' places of employment. Additional practices frequently also include visits by teachers to the parents in their homes to induce them to withdraw their children from religious instruction. Furthermore, religious instruction in the schools is always scheduled for the last hour of afternoon instruction.

But all these methods are characterized as "official secrets" in the schools. On this subject the Slovak teacher commented verbatim: "We have signed the Helsinki Pact. Therefore we must keep these methods secret."

More Than 60 Ordinations in the CSSR in 1985

In the CSSR 63 men could be ordained as Catholic priests, significantly more than in past years. The government very greatly limits the numerical admission to the study for priesthood. Thus last year only 43 of 103 men who had applied for admission to one of the two seminaries were admitted. Of the 63 new priests, 26 will be active in Bohemia and Moravia and the other 37 in Slovakia.

12356

CSO: 2300/59

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BETTER TREATMENT URGED FOR ARMED FORCES MEMBERS

West Berlin TAGESSPIEGEL in German 6 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by TAGESSPIEGEL staff member Michael Mara: "SED Concerned About the Welfare of the GDR Soldiers; Leadership in the Armed Forces to Be Improved"]

[Text] Questions of leadership do not lose importance in modern armies even under present military-technical conditions; the contrary is true. In West as well as in East, greater importance than ever is attached to these questions because the quality of the unit depends on leadership. Recently Federal Defense Minister Woerner therefore, during the debate on the 1984 annual report of the defense commissioner, underscored the necessity of good leadership in the Bundeswehr. The new defense commissioner, Weiskirch, pointing to the coldness and heartlessness of some superiors, announced that he will make leadership in the armed forces a key factor of his control activity.

It is noteworthy that there are also leadership problems in the socialist German armed forces in which, according to communist doctrine, there are no class antagonisms. The officers periodical MILITAERWESEN, published by the GDR Defense Ministry, demanded in its latest issue according to a report of the INFORMATIONSBUERO WEST (IWE) in Berlin that "a clear step forward be taken in the field of leadership."

Of course, this demand is not made without reason. There is indeed no defense commissioner in the GDR who makes shortcomings in leadership public. But it is known that some of the military department in the GDR armed forces leaves something to be desired. Defected GDR soldiers reported that superiors, in dealing with subordinates, do not always strike the right note and are inclined to excessive harshness. Another charge by GDR soldiers states that the superiors are too ready to punish. Even the slightest breach of duty or offense is severely punished while, on the other hand, there are cases where rights of the soldiers are curtailed.

The consequences of such phenomena, e.g., lack of confidence in superiors, solidifying "negative" behavior, feelings of reluctance and lacking readiness to assume burdens cannot be taken lightly by the East Berlin military leadership. Finally, the contradictions between what was said in political indoctrination and the experiences in dealing with superiors inhibit the morale of the soldiers.

Therefore the East Berlin military leadership emphatically demands from the superiors that they establish "socialist relations" with the subordinates which are based on mutual confidence, mutual respect and comradeship. The soldiers should feel that superiors and subordinates "are in fact class comrades with coinciding class interests," as they are always told in political indoctrination.

MILITAERWESEN even called the development of "socialist way of living" in the armed forces as "one of the cardinal questions" in the striving for higher combat readiness. The officers periodical, which reflects the viewpoint of the East Berlin military leadership, demanded leadership that supports "the social wellbeing of the military personnel and strengthens "their confidence in the military superiors."

The periodical expressly emphasized that it is "an irrevocable principle" of the SED "to concern itself with special attention with the military personnel" especially in view of the growing demands in the struggle for high combat readiness. According to the periodical, that is frequently less a question of constantly better satisfaction of material needs, but, as experience has shown, "much more frequently a question of the development of socialist relations...."

According to MILITAERWESEN, social wellbeing of the military personnel is also "essential for offensive combatting ideological diversion by the enemy." The latter tries to create "dissatisfaction and aversion to service in the socialist armed forces" by representing military life as far removed from the socialist ideal.

Fundamentally, the "political steadfastness" of the GDR soldiers is to be raised by better leadership. According to MILITAERWESEN, leadership gains "new importance" in view of the "enormous sharpening of the international class struggle situation."

12356

CSO: 2300/56

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

RESULTS OF SED MEMBERSHIP CONSULTATIONS REPORTED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Oct 85 pp 3-4

[Article datelined Berlin (ND): "Report on the Conduct and Results of the Confidence-Filled Individual Discussions With All of the Party's Members and Candidates"]

[Text] In accordance with a resolution of the Central Committee, personal conversations with members and candidates of the party took place in all 58,247 basic organizations and 26,754 departmental party organizations in the period from 19 August through 11 October. On Wednesday, the Secretariat of the Central Committee accepted a report regarding this significant intraparty event and confirmed the final conclusions stemming from it.

The Secretariat of the Central Committee expressed its thanks and appreciation to all party leadership components and to comrades in the basic organizations for the work performed. The Secretariat of the Central Committee stated that the conversations with all members and candidates of the party represented a great contribution toward the successful preparations for the 11th party congress. They were the prelude to the beginning of party elections.

The confidence-filled individual conversations, which were held in an overall party-minded and constructive atmosphere and which involved 2,271,210 members and candidates, turned out to be an impressive declaration of loyalty with respect to the policy of the party, with respect to the Central Committee and with respect to its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker. Throughout the conversations the pride of the communists was palpable, pride in belonging to a party which originated with the people, which, true to its word, does everything for the happiness and well-being of the people and which unerringly realizes its program in the tense international situation. The individual conversations became a comprehensive dialogue of the entire party on the higher requirements levied upon every communist in the new phase of social development in the GDR, which will be introduced by the 11th party congress.

Principal Results and Experiences

The individual confidence-filled conversations made it clear that the party has undergone a significant growth and maturity process since the 10th party congress. Party policy, which is aimed at the well-being of the people and at

securing peace, is understood and unanimously supported. It stimulates individuals toward higher performance and strengthens the confidence relationship which exists between the party and the people. The dialogue which was conducted within the party was a great exchange of experiences regarding the nature of the developed socialist society in the GDR. It turned out that the communists were familiar with the resolutions of the Central Committee, of the Politburo and of the Secretariat and were organizing their work on the basis of these resolutions. The conversations impressively reflected the fact that practice is fully confirming the voracity of the programs of the SED, that it lives in the actions of the working people and is being universally realized.

The leading role of the party was further elevated in all social areas, its political-ideological unity, purity and organizational cohesion were fortified and the combat strength of basic organizations was still further strengthened. Party collectives drew closer together, the confidence relationship between communists and their leadership components was deepened. The conversations had a great educational effect and helped every communist to recognize that he must render his contribution to the solution of the tasks confronting his basic organization in accordance with the higher requirements. The readiness to take on demanding party assignments and to fulfill them in a disciplined manner has grown. Participation in performing honorary work was promoted because the comrades felt that their social effectiveness was recognized and appreciated.

The conviction that a strong socialism is the decisive force in preventing a nuclear world holocaust and that the maintenance of peace will, to a great extent, be decided on the field of economics was successfully deepened. The declaration by Comrade Erich Honecker that our party will enter upon the year 2000 with its policy of the principal task involving the unity of economic and social policies had a great effect. Many comrades used it to decide to contribute to the unconditional fulfillment of the people's economic plan and the party obligations through good performance at their own workplace designed to hasten the intensification process in the national economy. The conversations provided a strong impulse to the struggle of the party and work collectives in their preparations for the 11th Party Congress of the SED through maximum performance and to make accelerated use of key technologies resulting from scientific-technical progress.

The individual conversations created a good foundation for the successful conduct of party elections. The political effect of the basic organizations, their connection with the masses, their goal-orientation have been further intensified with the help of the combat programs. Bezirk and kreis leadership components, as well as leaderships of the basic organizations became better acquainted with the cadres. In each basic organization a host of stimuli for the further quality improvement of intraparty life were provided. It was possible to further strengthen the offensive political actions on the part of communists in their work collectives, as well as in their residential areas, and to promote their steadfastness and ability to be convincing. The personal conversations also found a lively echo among workers without party affiliation and were evaluated by them as proof of the comprehensive, honest and obligating manner in which the party understands the popular expression of opinion

with regard to the 11th party congress. What was decisive was the fact that communists openly explained the problems of the conversations in their work collectives and consulted with nonparty workers regarding common suggestions.

The execution of these measures impressively clarified the authority and action capability of elected leadership components. Bezirk and kreis leaderships facilitated tight political management of the conversations. Of great significance with respect to the results of the individual conversations was the fact that the comrades were familiarized with the fundamental orientation contained in the speech by Comrade Erich Honecker at the 10th Session of the Central Committee and with the directives of the Politburo covering the conversations at party active sessions, at party meetings and in seminars. Party secretaries, members of the leadership and group organizers turned in an extremely responsible and conscientious performance and demonstrated a high degree of action readiness.

The political-ideological maturity of the majority of party members also showed itself through the fact that they appeared well-prepared for the conversations and considered the discussions to be an occasion to express their accountability to the party with regard to their awareness of the high obligations taken on by a communist but also to uncover, self-critically and critically, reserves involved in the further development of intraparty life, of political mass work and of socialist competition. The fact that the party leaderships, as a rule, had worked up a substantively differentiated evaluation of the work of each individual comrade ahead of time and devoted the appropriate amount of attention to proposals, questions, or personal requests by the comrades met with great approval. The high degree of combat readiness on the part of communists and the high degree of constructivity of the conversations was attested to by the fact that during the course of the conversations, 1.4 million party assignments were taken on anew or were rendered more precise, 230,000 new personal pledges were registered, as well as 720,000 proposals and guidelines were submitted.

Conversations were held involving 99.3 percent of the members and candidates of the party. Some 6,050 comrades have not yet been spoken to because they are either abroad or ill.

Basic organizations parted company with members and candidates who had not met the standards of the party statutes. At the request of basic organizations secretariats of kreis leaderships confirmed 3,787 expulsions from the party. Of this number, 2,658 names were struck from the rolls and 1,129 individuals were expelled.

Four hundred and thirty members and candidates refused to participate in the conversations; 1,359 announced their withdrawal from the party, including 37 candidate members. The main reasons for dropping out of the party are: no ties with the party, 74.1 percent; party-damaging conduct, 19.1 percent; unjustified personal demands, 6.8 percent.

Membership meetings of basic organizations or kreis leadership are still deciding on the continued membership of 3,167 comrades.

The verification and updating of the registries has resulted in bringing party statistics on the social and age composition of the party, as well as on the distribution of party forces in all societal areas in preparation for the 11th party congress to a new level. More than 4.5 million registration documents were completed in the basic organizations and kreis leadership components and brought up-to-date. With respect to 492,556 comrades personnel data were supplemented, 43,636 card-file entries and 78,722 registration sheets were newly compiled. The measure showed that the "Guidelines for Organizational Work of the Party" are being adhered to by kreis leaderships and basic organizations in a responsible manner.

The struggle to maintain and defend peace and the solution of the principal task in its unity with economic and social policy essentially characterize the content of the conversations.

The comrades gave their undivided approval and unreserved support to the party policy aimed at securing peace. The communists perceived a need to express their thanks to the Central Committee and to its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, for their good and successful policies since the 8th party congress.

The conversations received a strong impetus from the most recent foreign policy activities of our party and state leadership. The official friendship visit by Comrade Erich Honecker to Yugoslavia and his state visit to Greece were the subject of great resonance. Also, the many meetings with leading politicians and personalities in the economic sphere from capitalist nations, particularly his conversations with Finnish president Sorsa, SPD chairman Brandt and Bavarian premier Strauss, as well as his letter to Federal Chancellor Kohl containing the proposal to negotiate regarding the creation of a chemical weapons-free zone in central Europe, are being evaluated as an expression of his persistent efforts to secure peace, to reduce tensions and to promote cooperation. The comrades were also impressed by the confidence-filled conversations and the heartfelt atmosphere of the meeting between Erich Honecker and trade union representatives from the Saar.

The communists gave their full approval to the numerous initiatives and new specific steps of the Soviet Union toward disarmament and the reduction of tensions, to the Soviet Union's constructive position in the Geneva negotiations, as well as to the upcoming meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and Reagan. They unanimously supported the comprehensive and extensive peace program, which was presented by Comrade Gorbachev in France. The disarmament proposals strengthened the comrades and those without party affiliation in the hopes that positive results may be achieved at Geneva. In view of the existing unyielding position of the U.S. administration with regard to its armaments programs, particularly its "star wars" plans, not a few comrades expressed their skepticism.

In conjunction with the exacerbated international situation an important place in the conversations was taken up by the tasks of territorial defense, the action readiness of the Workers' Militia, the effectiveness of civil defense and the overall increase in vigilance with respect to imperialist machinations.

A number of comrades proposed that the questions of international development and the class struggle be accorded even more space in party life, particularly in membership meetings, in order to promote better understanding of connections and backgrounds and in order to receive convincing arguments for use in daily political conversations. Many party secretaries also expect a new more concrete amount of support in this area through their kreis leaderships. In the conversations many comrades recognize that they must take a more active part in mass political work, that they must explain party positions more offensively and must more vigilantly and energetically oppose enemy arguments.

It was characteristic that the resolutions of the Central Committee and the appropriate measures taken by bezirk and kreis leaderships for their implementation, as well as for the realization of their own combat programs, were the objects of the conversations. The overwhelming majority of the comrade workers, cooperative farmers, leaders, scientific-technical cadres, teachers and members of the armed forces evaluated their own share in helping to realize these provisions realistically and contributed proposals for the greater effectiveness of the work.

The substance and constructive content of the proposals and ideas submitted to improve economic performance reflect the fact that the economic policy of the party is understood and is proving itself in life. The comrades are proceeding on the assumption that higher performance is a prerequisite for continuing the principal task in its unity between economic and social policy. Leaderships and working collectives have gained the ability to organize the intensification of the reproduction process thoroughly and to concentrate socialist competition in that direction. Thus, for example, 3,900 comrades in Kreis Brandenburg and 20,000 comrades in Bezirk Leipzig made new pledges during their conversations aimed at the consistent implementation of the economic tasks set by the 10th Session of the Central Committee in their particular areas of responsibility.

Production workers proceeded from the assumption that their conduct, their performance and their political views determine the atmosphere and the will to perform within the worker collective and the overall authority of the party organization to a great extent. In the personal conversations they were the ones who submitted a large number of proposals and new personal pledges. The conversations also showed that the role of production workers in party life must be raised and that the word of the workingman must be given even more validity than heretofore.

Conversations with leading economic cadres contributed substantially toward molding positions of high personal responsibility for comprehensive intensification. Many comrades identified problems involving their own work openly by name, evaluated their own results realistically and expressed specific ideas with respect to a result-oriented working style. On the other hand, the positions of individual comrades had to be dealt with in order to minimize their lack of mastery of the reproduction process and to reduce the effect of long-standing work concepts. Some leading cadres had to be admonished to pay more attention to the opinions and proposals of the workers and to struggle more

energetically for a change in the criticized conditions in the production process, as well as working and living conditions, using the force of the collective. The conversations made it clear that the sense of duty must be strengthened with respect to some comrade leaders and that they must make regular accountability reports in party and work collectives.

In combines, enterprises and economic installations which are charged with realizing party congress tasks the status of accomplishment was evaluated. A significant amount of space was devoted to considerations and proposals dealing with ways in which the production of valuable and high-demand consumer goods could be still further significantly improved. Comrades in the construction industry had manifold hints pertaining to the lowering of costs, improving construction quality, as well as improvements in order and security at construction projects. In the coal and energy economy responsible conversations dealt with the manner in which each individual could contribute toward fully covering the needs of the national economy and the population for energy and fuels in the upcoming winter season.

Central to the considerations were primarily those tasks and problems which are predominantly influenced by one's own attitudes, performance readiness and leadership qualities. These involved the better utilization of basic assets and worktime, product quality, increases in home-made rationalization means, the lowering of production consumption and costs, as well as the economically effective utilization of scientific-technical outputs. In many instances, the necessary pace for developing key technologies and the still closer connection between science and production were the starting point of communications regarding the specific tasks involved in fulfilling and exceeding plan goals.

Great approval was enjoyed by the tasks set by the 10th Session of the Central Committee and the measures contained in the resolution of the Politburo of 10 September 1985, calling for large-scale expansion of the relationship between combines and the Academy of Sciences, as well as the universities and advanced schools and proposing that this relationship be made the subject of economic contracts. Many comrade scientists, investigators, designers and technologists submitted well-thought-through proposals in this regard calling for meeting the new requirements to accelerate scientific and technical progress through socialist communal work. In many instances the conversations developed into a valuable exchange of views on the desired attitudes and work methods which lead to true peak performances, as was the case in the engineering collectives of the Mansfeld Combine. In this regard, a dominant place was occupied by the work involving pledge books and engineer passes. The tasks which were assigned at the Leipzig seminar of the Central Committee involving directors general of combines and party organizers of the Central Committee, as well as the critical evaluation of work results involving a number of combines and enterprises, form the impetus for leading cadres to deal more specifically and without compromise with shortcomings in the leadership process.

Broad space was occupied in the conversations with comrades in state organs by the requirements, experiences and methods for perfecting socialist democracy and by the tasks of still further improving the quality of state leadership activities. As a result the leading role of the party in the state apparatus

was strengthened. Party members in the trade union leadership, in the leadership of the Socialist Union of Youth and in the other mass organizations are working with full confidence. During the conversations they affirmed their will to contribute to a still closer contact between the party and the masses through their work.

The conversations with members and candidates of the party in socialist agriculture were essentially determined by the speech by Comrade Erich Honecker on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the democratic land reform. The high valuation which he had expressed with regard to cooperative farmers and agricultural workers was, in many conversations, the starting point for consultations regarding the further successful realization of agrarian policies, the raising of productivity of labor, as well as the rational utilization and economic use of all material inventories in agriculture. In almost all conversations the comrades affirmed that they would do everything within their power to utilize the experiences gathered as a result of the good grain harvest of 1985 to assure the loss-free harvest of row crops as well as the fall planting at a high level of quality. The words of the cooperative farmers reflected pride in their accomplishment and expressed thanks to the party leadership for its clever agrarian policy. Socialist agriculture has, once more, become a matter for the entire village and livestock raisers and crop growers are once more working closer together within the framework of cooperation. This has had a positive influence on the overall atmosphere in the villages and on cooperative democracy. The results of the conversations also indicated that many basic organizations in agriculture, particularly in livestock production, must receive still more support and assistance, that intraparty life must be improved and that the combat capability of cooperative farmers must be raised by recruiting the best of them to become party candidates.

The conversations which took place within the armed forces were characterized by the absolute readiness to fulfill all tasks involving military protection, public order and state security with a high degree of personal commitment. The comrades considered the evaluation of their responsible service by the party leadership and by Comrade Erich Honecker personally, as was evidenced by his visits among the air force troops and his speech to graduates of the military academy, as a great stimulus for new levels of performance.

At the center of the discussions with the comrades in the National People's Army were the increased requirements for political-ideological education and training of troops, increased requirements for science and research, for recruiting and supporting the follow-on generation in accordance with the resolutions of the Politburo dated 11 June 1985. Many constructive proposals were submitted dealing with increasing the effectivity of training, of having it take place everywhere in a planned manner and for evaluating military performance realistically and critically. Conversations involving comrades from the Ministry of State Security primarily dealt with further improvements in the quality of the Chekist struggle for timely reconnaissance and thwarting of the attacks by the enemy and to combat the subversive activities engaged in by imperialist secret services. The comradely and open discussions brought about a realistic evaluation of the combat strength and status of performance in the collectives. Typical of the attitudes of communists is their determination to

struggle for better performance in all areas. The conversations with comrades of the German People's Police and with other organs of the Ministry of the Interior were characterized by the high quality of their overall activities and by their desire to use the good results in facilitating public order and safety to contribute to deepening the confidence relationship between the citizens and their socialist state.

Even those communists working abroad affirmed their high degree of readiness to undertake consistent implementation of the party resolutions. There were some hints as to the better preparation of cadres for employment abroad. Conversations involving 30,634 communists in the 11 basic organizations active in the "Natural Gas Pipeline" Central Youth Project in the USSR were characterized by clear attitudes with respect to party policy. They expressed their pride in the fact that all pledges made on the basis of Politburo resolutions are being fulfilled. A high party attitude is attested to by the fact that quite a few declared their readiness to work on the pipeline through the 11th party congress and beyond. There were suggestions for planning leave and for regulating home leave, as well as for increasing the level of cultural care provided at the construction sites.

The personal conversations were a rich source of experiences and lessons bearing on the development of intraparty life and the further improvement in the quality of leadership activities required to implement the party resolutions.

The individual conversations once more revealed that the SED has a significant reservoir of Marxist-Leninist educated party cadres with rich experiences in leadership and in handling people who are deeply devoted to socialism and closely connected with the working people. The 21,139 elected members of bezirk and kreis leaderships, the 86,856 party secretaries, as well as the political coworkers at the bezirk and kreis leadership levels have earned high regard in their party and work collectives through their political steadfastness, their honest open attitudes and through their committed actions designed to strengthen our state and the affairs of the working people.

Young comrades from the Federation of German Youth (FDJ) were prepared for party functions with greater consistency and more according to plan. The majority of the honorary party secretaries confirmed that kreis leaderships had devoted themselves more to basic organizations since the 10th party congress. At the same time some comrades pointed out that they expect more support in their political work in economic-technical areas or in the councils of cooperative party secretaries in agriculture.

The conversations achieved additional progress in improving the quality of intraparty life in basic organizations. Party leaderships won valuable experiences and findings which are of great usefulness in further improving the leadership role of the party, particularly in the process of party elections. Personal responsibility and the need to raise the share the individual comrade has in the development of a lively interesting intraparty lifestyle were strongly elaborated.

Extensive agreement existed with respect to the concept that membership meetings would dwell more on their own areas of application in elaborating resolutions and would draw their own final conclusions from these events. The comrades proved themselves ready to take an active part in preparing for membership meetings. Such meetings should become forums in which comrades report about their work, receive advice on fulfilling their party tasks and in which party leaderships give accountability reports regarding their work even to a greater extent than was the case heretofore. This is intended to bring the challenging of party positions, the promotion of a critical atmosphere, as well as the rapid adoption of hints and proposals even more to the center of attention.

An expression of the results of the mature activities by communists as noted in the individual conversations is also the high degree of readiness to take on party tasks. As a result of the conversations, up to 70 percent of the comrades took on specific party tasks, mostly on the basis of combat programs in the membership organizations in September. More than heretofore the capabilities and inclinations of the comrades, as well as the settlement value of the tasks were taken into consideration and, thus, the appearances of formalism were still further dismantled.

Many comrade artists and cultural workers emphasized that they would conduct the ideologically clarifying conflict of opinions in a more principled manner and would use the overall policy of the party as a starting point more strongly than heretofore. As was the case in the basic organization of the Dresden State Opera many comrades came to the conclusion that they would have to increase the effect of their role as a model in the work and artistic collectives in order to better meet the requirements for high artistic performances. Creative artists and authors declared their unlimited readiness to be active and constructive cocreators of socialist society in the GDR.

Conversations with physicians and nurses made it clear that intraparty life in the basic organizations of the health system has gained in quality. In the case of individual comrades the conversations particularly emphasized their readiness to achieve further political improvements and to take on societal functions.

A particularly valuable contribution was made by the individual conversations in regard to the party education of young comrades. The majority of the party leaderships were concerned with drawing young people into societal work and with their functions within the party collective. Most of the young comrades confront political questions very openly. They place particular value on learning from experienced communists. Many young comrades expressed their desire for more responsible tasks in the conversations which would challenge their capabilities. Young graduates of technical advanced and specialized schools want to find employment more rapidly at focal points of intensification, for example, within a well-managed young people's research collective.

In a number of conversations it became clear that the Marxist-Leninist training of candidates should proceed in a differentiated manner and on a continuous basis. Tasks involving political work should be specific and should be

accountable for on a short-term basis and should result in more stimuli for additional work in the socialist youth organization. In numerous basic organizations the findings resulting from conversations with young comrades became the stimulus for more deep-seated consultations regarding the implementation of the party's youth policy and support for the "Ernst Thaelmann Challenge." Many party leadership components intend to devote more attention to the responsibility of citizens.

Greater significance was attributed to the collectivity of leadership and to support for honorary party workers. Differentiated work involving all members of the leadership, party propagandists and agitators is intended to serve this purpose. An atmosphere in which the communists feel that all that which motivates them is consulted upon and responded to in their party collectives is to be promoted. With respect to the further improvement in the quality of the year of party instruction the basic organizations also anticipate receiving more support from the kreis leaderships so as to be still better able to assist propagandists in presenting Marxism-Leninism realistically and in close conjunction with questions that move the working people.

The conversations reflected the fact that close, comradely and mutually beneficial relationships exist between kreis leaderships and the basic organizations. The resolution of the Secretariat of the Central Committee with respect to the report of the Rathenow Kreis leadership on the results and experiences of the development of intraparty life and on strengthening the combat strength of basic organizations was of real help.

On the Suggestions and Hints Submitted by the Comrades

In the conversations a host of ideas, constructive thoughts, proposals and hints surfaced which were primarily aimed at the consistent implementation of party resolutions in one's own area of responsibility, at uncovering effectiveness reserves intended to increase performance and at still further increasing the combat strength of basic organizations through an interesting intraparty lifestyle which mobilizes all comrades. The comrades spoke substantively and in a committed manner. They depicted the questions and problems which need to be solved in an energetic, confident and farsighted manner. The conversations and the proposals submitted demonstrated the viability of intraparty democracy. The overwhelming majority of basic organizations reacted rapidly, and with feeling, to that which moved the comrades; every hint and suggestion was carefully tested and realized without loss of time where possible. The conversations reflected the fact that the resolution of the Secretariat of the Central Committee with respect to Bischofswerda had found strong resonance in the basic organizations. It was understood as a high requirement for the quality of one's own work and resulted in the leading cadres at all levels devoting more attention to the care of people.

The proposals and suggestions included the following:

- i. the further uncovering of performance reserves in the national economy--40 percent;

- ii. raising the level of intraparty life--30 percent;
- iii. communal political questions--20 percent;
- iv. working and living conditions--10 percent.

Proposals involving the uncovering of additional performance reserves primarily deal with questions of material-technical support of plan fulfillment in a number of combines and enterprises. In enterprises having plan shortfalls proposals were submitted for better organization of work, for better cooperation and for increasing order, discipline and cleanliness. There were critical remarks in some enterprises with respect to the inadequate appearance of state leaders in work collectives, with respect to delaying some decisions and with respect to disregarding suggestions by workers which, for example, was the case in the "Ernst Thaelmann" Vehicle and Hunting Weapons Combine at Suhl. At the diesel engine plant at Rostock reserves which could be tapped in order to secure the continuity of production as, for example, by improving intraenterprise transport were pointed out.

Proposals and hints regarding the formation of intraparty life testify to the matured responsibility and the role of communists on the basis of the statutes and programs of the party in using one's own example to still further strengthen the combat strength of basic organizations. Many comrades drew conclusions from the growing requirements which result from the party resolutions in order to play a more active role in party membership meetings and in party groups, in the working collective and in the year of party training. Many affirmed their decision to seek further political and specialized qualification, to deal more intensively with the resolutions and with the press and to react more rapidly to topical political events. In this direction suggestions for high-level preparations in implementation of membership meetings were submitted.

During the conversations some questions of party training were heard and some party leaderships were required to take a more consistent approach with respect to inactive comrades. It was frequently emphasized that stricter attention should be paid to regular accountability reports on the part of the party leadership at membership meetings.

Information from all bezirks indicates that a number of comrades submitted suggestions bearing on the guidelines covering membership dues which, for example, deal with the computation of dues based on earnings from working special shifts and other special performance bonuses.

With respect to communal political questions these were mostly questions dealing with the maintenance of the value of living space, with improvement of the condition of some roads and streets, with protection of the environment and with cleanliness. Supply questions were emphasized positively by the comrades, who stressed that the continuous availability of merchandise for the daily needs at stable prices was a great accomplishment of socialism in the GDR and was the result of a good worker policy. Problems which were addressed in this regard deal primarily with the maintenance of store opening hours,

with friendly service in some stores and gastronomic establishments, with supplying the full assortment of merchandise up until store closing time and with improving the offerings of various industrial consumer goods. There were critical remarks pertaining to waiting time with respect to some services, particularly the repair and spare parts availability for automobiles and selected electric household appliances. When it came to working and living conditions questions were frequently asked which are very differentiated with respect to territory and operations and which were carefully accepted and evaluated by the leaderships. In some enterprises these questions had to do with enterprise catering facilities, the status of some social and sanitary installations, the untimely availability of protective work clothing and excessive noise.

In conversations with railroad employees the growing performance requirements were frequently mentioned, as were problems of personnel support. Bezirk and kreis leaderships and leaderships of basic organizations are devoting great attention to the careful registration, evaluation and working out of hints and proposals submitted by the comrades. In many party organizations of large enterprises temporary working groups were created. Some questions and problems of supraenterprise significance are under party control of the bezirk and kreis leadership secretariats. In the majority of the basic organizations answers to a large number of questions and problems which were addressed were provided as early as the membership meetings in September and October.

The Personal Conversations Result in the Following Final Conclusions With Respect to the Implementation of Party Elections

1. The combat readiness of communists and the activity and energy promoted by the personal conversations is to be utilized for the further upswing in the popular movement for the preparation of the 11th Party Congress of the SED. The confidence relationship between the party and the people is to be still further deepened through intensive, specific and idea-rich mass political work and the conviction that a strong socialism is the decisive force in securing peace is to be fortified with respect to all citizens.
2. Effective political-ideological work and strict management activity is to be used to facilitate a situation in which party and trade union organizations, state and economic officials turn still more intensively toward the solution of enterprise focal points of plan implementation in close connection with the further improvement of the working and living conditions for workers and the uncovering of reserves for comprehensive intensification within their own areas of jurisdiction. Party and trade union leaderships should insist more energetically that all leaders meet their obligation to present accountability reports in enterprise and work collectives, inform workers on a timely basis and in an understandable manner about the events surrounding the plan and, thus, promote a readiness to solve the outstanding tasks and problems. Proven and effective work methods are to be publicized and the movement calling for work in accordance with the best-known values is to be broadly developed. Everywhere performance prerequisites for the fulfillment of received pledges are to be created and party control over them is to be strengthened.

3. The comrades are to be equipped with still more efficient arguments for their political actions within work collectives and residential areas, for their activities in mass organizations, in schools of socialist labor and in the FDJ study year. In this regard the membership meetings, party group work and the year of party training are to be further improved. The topical problems of the struggle for peace must receive more room so as to make it possible for all comrades to better grasp the connections and backgrounds of international developments and the class arguments with imperialism and to be able to better judge them from a class standpoint. Bezirk and kreis leaderships should provide the various leaderships of basic organizations with greater support in the form of topical information and arguments.
4. Efforts to effect improvements in the quality of intraparty life are to be more strongly aimed at drawing the communists into the preparations, the implementation and control of all measures of their basic organization toward the strict implementation of Central Committee resolutions. Those comrades who hold honorary offices within the party, in mass organizations and in people's representative bodies, but particularly party group organizers, are to be provided with effective, differentiated guidance, assistance and support by the leaderships. More attention is to be devoted to work involving candidate members. Candidate training is to be improved and the party leadership should take the inclinations and capabilities of the comrades more into account in making party assignments and should eliminate manifestations of formalism.
5. The manner in which the suggestions and hints submitted during the conversations, as well as during the total national discussion, are being thoroughly tested and evaluated for purposes of implementing the main task and how they are being realized is to be the subject of accountability reports to be given at preelection meetings in basic organizations, and at kreis and bezirk delegate conferences. Everything which gives rise to new initiatives and which frees up reserves is to be promoted. That which requires improvement is to be brought into order. The conscientious handling of the rich inventory of creative thoughts and constructive proposals is among the fundamentals of intraparty democracy and is to be placed under permanent party control. Bureaucratic and heartless conduct, as well as the shifting of responsibility on the part of individual leaders and coworkers is to be the subject of counteraction in accordance with the statutes of the party and socialist legality, without regard to the person involved.
6. Kreis leaderships are charged with effecting further improvements in the operational work at basic organizational levels and in the comradely relationships between party secretaries and members of the leadership and economic and state officials. Guidance provided by party secretaries should still more strongly become an exchange of experiences regarding the most effective methods of party work, particularly of the permanent and close connection between the leaderships and the party membership, should result in increasing the active core of comrades and in the promotion of younger cadres.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LOCAL ASSEMBLY LAW'S RELEVANCE, EFFECT ASSESSED

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[Article by Prof Dr Siegfried Petzold, member of the STAAT UND RECHT editorial board and of the GDR Academy for Political and Juridical Sciences: "The Law on Local Popular Assemblies in the GDR--a Significant Step in Further Strengthening Socialist State Power and Perfecting Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] The law on the local people's representations in the GDR,¹ adopted by the People's Chamber at its 11th session on 4 July 1985 and coming into effect on 1 September this year, fulfils the mission assigned by the 10th SED Congress, to check the responsibility of the local state organs on the various management levels and reformulate the local assembly law in conformity with the stage of development attained.²

The new version of the law, as Erich Honecker has pointed out, marks an important step toward setting down those tasks and rights and duties of the local organs of state power that result from the requirements for the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. In relying on the tried and tested experiences on relevant civic and performance-oriented efforts by the local people's representations, the deputies, councils and standing commissions, the perfection of socialist democracy is thereby being continued as a chief developmental trend in the workers and farmers state.³ This again attests to the basic line of development in the socialist state according to which, in the construction of socialist society, the responsibility of the local state organs for solving the political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural tasks grows inevitably and steadily, new requirements are added and their field of action increasingly expands thereby. Each stage in the social advance of the GDR, the upward development of the social productive forces and the perfecting of the socialist production relations, as well as in the unfolding of socialist democracy, based on democratic centralism, was logically connected with a continued constitutional definition of the position of the local organs of state power and the growth of their tasks, rights and duties in implementing the unified policy of the workers and farmers power.⁴

In harmony with the process initiated by the Eighth SED Congress of shaping the developed socialist society, there also began a new phase in the activity

of the local state organs. The 12 July 1973 law, adopted by an Eighth SED Congress resolution,⁵ on the local people's representations and their organs in the GDR,⁶ stood up well as an important instrument of the socialist state. Important advances were made in all domains of public life. The workers and farmers power was strengthened in every way, and SED policy, informed with the purpose of socialism and aimed at the well-being of the people, became more intelligible and perceptible to every citizen. The law greatly helped deepen socialist democracy, heighten the efficacy and authority of the elected local power organs and their deputies, bring civic initiatives into effect all-around, and strengthen the state organs' cooperation with the National Front commissions and all public organizations. Altogether, the citizens' relationship of trust with their socialist state was further consolidated.

The revised local assembly law accurately reflects the social changes since the Eighth SED Congress, generalizes on experiences gathered since in political work and, in conformity with the principles and norms of the socialist constitution, constitutionally sets down the increasing demands the local state organs have to meet in the continuing implementation of the SED program. The law was generated through broad concerted efforts and benefited from analyses and recommendations from central state organs and bezirk councils, and from a comprehensive analysis of all local experiences. The draft, soliciting the expression of opinions, was sent to the kreis council chairmen and to the executive mayors and mayors of kreis towns and communities. Positions were taken also by the executives of the parties friendly with the SED, the mass organizations represented in the People's Chamber, and the National Council of the National Front. In the outcome of this democratic debate, 3,235 propositions were submitted,⁷ leading to a number of essential supplements or amendments to the draft.

Together with the socialist constitution, the local assembly law is among the most important constitutional documents the workers and farmers power has. Essential constitutional principles and norms find their full implementation there.⁸ Its far-reaching importance, as Willi Stoph emphasized, results "from the political weight of the local people's representations, their organs and deputies in the public life of the GDR. As links of socialist state power, uniformly organized by the principle of democratic centralism, the state organs in each bezirk and kreis and in the more than 7,500 towns and communities fulfil, with a high sense of responsibility, great energy and initiative, the overall state and communal tasks assigned to them. They are making a great contribution to implementing our state policy, aimed at the strengthening of socialism and the safeguarding of peace."⁹

This law provides the local state organs with a stable legal foundation, meant for a fairly long period of time, for their efforts aimed at the strengthening of socialism, the safeguarding of peace and the good of the people and of all citizens. In conformity with its political character of principle and with current conditions and future requirements, the constitutional position of the local people's representations and the essential principles and chief trends in their efforts at carrying on the SED's social strategy are set down. Accordingly, the basic responsibility of the elected local power organs, under SED leadership, in confident cooperation with all

parties united in the National Front and with the social organizations there, is to implement the policy of the workers and farmers power on the further shaping of the developed socialist society. Together with all the forces of the people, it is their concern to strengthen the GDR all-around (Article 1).¹⁰ Proceeding from overall state requirements, a growing contribution must mainly be made to fulfilling the main task with its united economic and social policies. Thereby the law fully conforms with the resolutions of the 10th SED Central Committee session, where Erich Honecker made the following point: "Solving the main task will continue to determine our efforts over the long haul. With this policy the SED is going to cross the threshold of the year 2000. We bring to realization the economic performance growth required for it through the proven economic strategy for the 1980's, i.e. through the comprehensive intensification of all sectors of the economy, by still more broadly connecting the data of the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism, whereby to create all the prerequisites for a continued gradual elevation of the people's material and cultural standard of living."¹¹

Among the key questions in the new law of political theory and constitutionality is further enforcing the proven principle of democratic centralism. In conformity with the stage of development attained and with the grown requirements, the legal regulations aim at still more effectively linking central : state planning with local initiatives, at further developing socialist democracy, and at ensuring the constitutional right of codetermination and co-shaping through comprehensively drawing the citizens into the management and planning of public life, according to the principle "share our work, our planning, or rule." "No concept other than democratic centralism," Egon Krenz affirmed, "can more clearly express the essence of our democracy and better characterize the principles for the construction, cooperation and activity of all organs of socialist state power than this category that is inherent in the nature of Marxism-Leninism."¹²

Uniform centralized state management is and remains the crucial prerequisite and condition for the local state organs so they can, based on the steadily growing participation by the citizens, direct and plan the complex economic and social development in each bezirk and kreis and fashion public municipal and communal life according to plan. Continuing our political practice thus far, it is up to the local people's representations to decide, on the basis of the constitution, the laws and other legal regulations, on their own responsibility, on all affairs affecting their territory and its citizens. The plenitude of power the elected state organs possess is then also expressed by it being precisely determined which matters are to be handled exclusively in meetings of the local assemblies as the most important form of the collective efforts of the deputies as elected by the citizens. The first spot goes to the taking of resolutions on bezirk five-year-plans and annual plans and the kreis, municipal, city-district and communal annual plans and the budget plans (Article 7). The pivot and fulcrum in the activity of the local state organs, according to the provisions in the law, are a precise and expert preparation of the state plans, based on central orientations and leads, the all-round and consistent fulfilment and targeted over-fulfilment of them, mainly through organizing socialist competition in concert with the trade unions, assistance provided for the economic activities of the socialist youth association, and the all-round encouragement of civic initiatives.

That takes care of the demand of the 10th SED Central Committee session to turn on every level into the measure of all things the national economic plan as it expresses most clearly and strikingly the overall interests of the state.¹³

Of great importance for further strengthening our unified socialist political power is the joint responsibility, here for the first time legally formulated, of the State Council and the Council of Ministers to ensure, as charged by the People's Chamber, uniformity in the activities of the local people's representations. So the responsibility of the State Council to support the local people's representations and promote their democratic activities in shaping the developed socialist society, set down already in Article 70 of the Constitution and implemented in practice, now has also crystallized in the law. A significant role is played by the local assemblies' reporting to the State Council and the recommendations submitted in the outcome of such conferences.¹⁴ The same role attaches to the status-reports by local councils before the Council of Ministers and the resolutions relating to them, containing binding stipulations for implementing the law and rendering official activity in various fields more expert. It is up to the Council of Ministers, primarily, to direct and supervise the bezirk councils, coordinate the development of branches and sectors with complex territorial developments, organize the cooperation between the central state organs and the bezirk councils, undertake the elaboration and implementation of ambitious bezirk plans, and provide progressive experiences while they are being carried out. The bezirk councils in turn have to be drawn into the preparation of resolutions and law regulations affecting the development in their territories. From this stipulation the general inference can be drawn that in all decisions on branch development, and that includes also that of the ministries and of the other central state organs, territorial requirements and effects have to be taken into account. As practical experience has demonstrated, on an ever improving control over the reciprocal relations between branch and territorial development significantly depend the desired economic performance improvement, the tapping of all territorial resources, and the resolving of requirements in communal policy.

For having democratic centralism prevail further it is equally important that the law accurately settles the tasks and authorities of the local state organs on any given level and the management and planning relations among them. The bezirk assembly and its council, e.g., through their long-term conceptual work and the bezirk five-year plans, closely cooperating with the state organs in the kreis, also have to create essential prerequisites and conditions for complex economic and social kreis development. They determine the basic lines for territorial rationalization, set down the principles for the management and planning of comprehensive housing construction, and direct the kreis councils in their long-term conceptual work.

More clearly defined also was the specific responsibility of the state organs in the kreis for fulfilling overall governmental tasks, for the complex management of economic and social processes in the kreis and for directing and supporting the local assemblies and their councils in towns and communities that belong to the kreis. That leads to the implication, it seems to me, that democratic centralism determines not only the relations between central

state management and the local state organs with their growing responsibilities, but also the management and planning responsibilities of the local state organs on any given level and the relations among them. This also should offer access to investigations in political science and jurisprudence for working out still more fully the position and responsibility of the local state organs within the system of uniform socialist state power, in order to analyze more concretely democratic centralism as the fundamental organizational and developmental principle of socialist statehood in the multiplicity of its manifestations.

Proceeding from the SED program and the basic working class party resolutions and guidelines, the law provides a cohesive constitutional authority for the requirements made on the activity of the local state organs that result from the new stage in the economic strategy. They thus have an important instrument for making a noticeably higher contribution to the performance and efficiency development of our economy. Their activities are consistently being directed at essential tasks in the economic strategy, at accelerating the scientific-technological progress, boosting labor productivity, further improving the energy and materials economy, more effectively investing the basic assets, ensuring the complete and rational use of the social labor capacity, and improving as such the cost/benefit ratio (Article 2). The local assemblies mainly are given two essential and interconnected tasks. What matters is to lend comprehensive and permanent character to the intensification in their own domain of responsibility, i.e. in the bezirk-managed industry, the local supply economy, locally managed construction and agriculture, and reliably to fulfill the in part entirely new tasks in the fields of energy and materials economy. At the same time, through the rational use of the social labor capacity, the planned organization of the territorial infrastructure, and a performance-oriented socialist communal policy, ever more favorable local conditions have to be created for the overall economic reproduction process and the local resources have to be tapped ever more effectively for a dynamic economic growth.

Such a nicely tuned formulation of responsibilities of local state organs for territorial rationalization provides new opportunities for making still better use of this important form of socialist cooperative efforts, spanning all sectors and branches, between the state organs and all territorial combines, enterprises, cooperatives and institutions, to speed up the intensification process, tap territorial reserves and further improve, according to plan, the citizens' working and living conditions. By preparing territorial rationalization guidelines, the bezirk council, working together with the combines, selected enterprises and science institutions as well as the kreis councils, creates important prerequisites to be able to make such measures take hold for a longer time frame and produce the highest use value. The law regulations unequivocally demonstrate that the kreis constitutes the most important level for territorial rationalization. There the state organs have to manage, plan and organize this process directly, the coordinated tasks to be included in the territorial and enterprise plans. Materially and financially securing the measures within the frameworks of the plans is an essential condition for the economic and sociopolitical effect of territorial rationalization. The enterprises, cooperatives and institutions are called upon to submit proposals for taking measures jointly with the local people's representations. Furthermore,

the bezirk council has the right to demand decisions from the central state organs and combines on the participation by enterprises and institutions in territorial rationalization measures. This provides the local state organs with the legal means to influence those enterprises that have thus far not yet taken part in territorial rationalization measures to the full extent of their possibilities (Articles 4, 21, 39).

The law expresses the ever closer link between dynamic economic development and the implementation of communal policy objectives as well as economic and social progress. Embedded in the SED's social strategy for shaping the developed socialist society, the principles of socialist communal policy¹⁵ are written into law cohesively, which perfects the constitutional principles for productive, civilly relevant communal policy efforts by the local assemblies. It is an essential concern to strengthen further socialist state power in towns and communities, promote in every way the democratic activities of the social forces and civic initiatives, improve the citizens' housing conditions through a civilly-relevant socialist communal policy, ensure a fair distribution of dwelling space and a well functioning supply situation and time-saving service and repair activities, use health, educational, cultural, sports and recreational facilities effectively, and deepen the people's socialist attachment to their home. Thus the tasks, rights and duties of the people's representations and their organs in kreis towns and communities are significantly being broadened so as to enable them always more effectively to fulfill their social functions, as written into Articles 41 and 43 of the Constitution, in the process of the continued shaping of the developed socialist society. That is also served by making a special point of the position and high responsibility of mayors (Article 62).

In implementing the policy of the socialist state and based on the plan, the state organs have to organize public life in the territories, assist enterprises and cooperatives in their performance development, and do what they can so that the citizens feel comfortable in pretty and well-groomed towns, communities and villages. What with all the variety of communal policy tasks, the improving of housing conditions will still occupy the predominant spot in the future. For that reason are the people's representations and the municipal and community councils fully responsible for managing housing in their territories.

The legal regulations take into consideration that also in the communal sectors a concentration process has taken place finding its expression in the formation of bezirk or kreis-managed service combines and enterprises, the subordination of capacities in the road network under the bezirk councils, bezirk management for commercial enterprises and the management of most medical care facilities by the kreis councils. To secure permanently the influence of the municipal and communal state organs on the activities of those enterprises and facilities to protect the citizens' communal interests and concerns, the local state organs' coordination and control rights and their rights to assign quotas to the enterprises and facilities not under their jurisdiction have been heightened. Municipal and communal councils, e.g., are entitled to demand of enterprises, parts of enterprises, institutions and consumer cooperatives that have to meet territorial public

provisioning functions to account for how they are doing it. Changes in the provisioning functions and the opening and closing of sales outlets and restaurants require a go-ahead from the municipal or communal council. They also rule on temporary closings and business hours of sales outlets and restaurants (Article 68). They furthermore have the right to assign quota requirements to the service and repair enterprises, the artisan cooperatives and private craftsmen and tradesmen, within the framework of the plan, on the full use of their capacities, according to needs, for provisioning the population (Article 69). They also can call to account the combines and enterprises in construction that are not under their jurisdiction when they undertake in the territory measures in new construction, reconstruction, modernization and maintenance of apartment buildings. Changes in the use of construction capacities, available according to plan to the municipal or communal council, when they affect the plan fulfilment, require a go-ahead from the municipal or communal people's assembly (Article 66).

These regulations are intended to enforce the principle that the local assemblies and their councils decide on everything that happens in the towns and communities, wherefore then also measures by combines, enterprises and institutions not under their jurisdiction, as long as they affect the citizens' communal concerns and interests, have to be coordinated with them or require their endorsement.

Concerted socialist efforts together with the enterprises, parts of enterprises, cooperatives and institutions are gaining growing importance. Without them no successful socialist communal policy is possible. The communal contracts (Articles 4, 63), written into law for the first time, are apt to organize socialist cooperative efforts in a more binding, stable and comprehensive manner.¹⁷ Their area of application was broadened in that, in addition to the measures for improving working and living conditions, and for developing the sociopolitical and intellectual-cultural life, also territorial rationalization tasks are to be placed under these contracts. By concluding and painstakingly fulfilling the obligations assumed, the enterprises, cooperatives and institutions are making an appropriate contribution to the development of public life in towns, city-districts and communities and to solving communal tasks.

With strict regard for the responsibilities of the local assemblies, there are those other forms of communal and interest associations which should continue to be used as tried and tested forms of cooperative activities in kreis towns and communities to promote agricultural and industrial production, improve the conditions for men's social well-being, mainly in the small towns and villages, and make social and cultural life more interesting and diversified.

In this context there arises the task for the future efforts in constitutional, administrative and economic law, to contribute to the further perfection of the legal forms for socialist collective efforts and the needed mechanisms and procedural regulations in the exercise of the coordination, control and participatory rights as well as to participate generally in the general insights drawn from the progressive experiences in the implementation of the law on the local people's representations in the GDR.

FOOTNOTES

1. GBL [legal gazette], Part I, pp 213 f.
2. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress], Berlin, 1981, p 118.
3. Cf. "GDR State Council Meeting--GDR Implements by Word and Deed the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 June 1985, p 1.
4. Cf. the "Law on the Further Democratization of the Construction and Working Manner of State Organs in the Lands of the GDR," 23 July 1952, GBL, pp 613 ff; the "Law on the Local Organs of State Power," 18 January 1957, GBL Part I, pp 65 ff; the "GDR State Council Edict on the Rulings on the Tasks and Working Method of the Local People's Representations and Their Organs," 26 June 1961, GBL, Part I, pp 51 ff, and the regulations issued on that basis.
5. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees an den VIII. Parteitag der SED" [Central Committee Report to the Eighth SED Congress], Berlin, 1971, p 66.
6. GBL, Part I, pp 313 ff.
7. Cf. "GDR State Council Meeting . . .," op. cit.
8. At the 11th People's Chamber session, Wolfgang Weichelt, chairman of the constitutional and legal commission, explicitly pointed to the close link between the socialist constitution and the law on the local people's representations (cf. "All Citizens' Proposals Should Get Attention," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 July 1985, p 4).
9. "Our Socialist Democracy Is a Source for Steadily New Initiatives--Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, Explains the Law on the Local People's Representations," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 July 1985, p 3.
10. All references to legal regulations relate to the law on the local people's representations in the GDR of 4 July 1984, op. cit.
11. 11th SED Central Committee Session, "Zur Vorbereitung des XI. Parteitages der SED. Aus der Rede des Genossen Erich Honecker" [In Preparation for the 11th SED Congress--From the Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker], Berlin, 1985, pp 24 f.
12. E. Krenz, "Staat und Recht bei der weiteren Entfaltung der Vorzuege und Triebkraefte der sozialistischen Gesellschaft. Staats- und rechtswissenschaftliche Konferenz der DDR am 26. und 27. Juni 1985 in Berlin" [State and Law in the Further Unfolding of the Advantages and Impulses of the Socialist Society. Constitutional Law and Juridical Conference of the GDR, 26-27 June 1985, Berlin], Berlin, 1985, p 16.

13. Cf. 11th SED Central Committee Session," op. cit., p 25.
14. Cf., inter alia, "GDR State Council Conference in Berlin. Civilly Relevant and Productive Efforts by the People's Representations," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 7 December 1984, p 1; "State Council Conference on Handling Citizens' Petitions. Partnership of Party, State and People--a Warrant for Our Successes," Ibid., 5 March 1985, p 1; H.-J. Semler/O. Unger, "Democratic Centralism and Local People's Representations--Support for the Local People's Representations by the State Council," STAAT UND RECHT, 1985, pp 795 ff.
15. Cf. S. Petzold, "Socialist Communal Policy--an Indispensable Element of the Unified Efforts by the Socialist State Power," STAAT UND RECHT, 1984, pp 259 ff; S. Petzold/O. Unger, "On Some Aspects of Socialist Communal Policy," Ibid., 1985, pp 419 ff.
16. Cf. S. Petzold, "The Spread of Socialist Democracy in Towns and Communities--Important Characteristic of the Socialist Constitutional Reality," K.-H. Schoeneburg/W. Weichelt/S. Petzold, "Unsere Verfassung--Geschichte und Gegenwart" [Our Constitution--In History and at Present], Berlin, 1985, pp 34 ff.
17. Cf. L. Penig, "Contract Law Aspects of Economic Coordination," STAAT UND RECHT, 1984, pp 959 ff; K. Schubert, "The Communal Contract as a Legal Instrument for Resolving Communal Policy Tasks," Ibid., 1985, pp 221 ff.

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HUNGARY

PPF'S POZSGAY ON THREATENED 'NATIONAL CONSENSUS'

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian Oct 1985 pp 3-10

[Article by Imre Pozsgay: "National Unity, Public Consensus, Democracy"]

[Text] As early as December of this year the VIIIth Congress of the Patriotic People's Front will convene, and this makes it especially timely to review the connection between socialist national unity, the policy of alliance, public consensus and socialist democracy, and their effect on societal stability and further development. After all, the People's Front is the mass movement and political force within which the allied classes and social layers of the country and the organizations representing various interests create societal unity and practice cooperation, keeping in mind their shared basic interests. The People's Front is that fundamental political institution which, derived from its constitutional, legal and self-guaranteed role and function of unifying various interests, identifies as national program those aspects of the Party's decisions that touch the entire nation, while also participating in the preparation and implementation of this program.

For these reasons, the congress of the People's Front is not merely a part of an organized movement's internal accounting and reviewing agenda, it is not merely an institutional event, but rather a political account before the country's population, a survey that shows how, within the alliance, the conditions and prospects of political cooperation between party members and non-members, believers and non-believers, members of various classes and layers, men, women and the various generations, as well as citizens of differing ethnic origin and nationality, are developing. It is particularly significant that the VIIIth Congress of the People's Front is part of the domestic political process which has been earmarked by the XIIIth Congress of the Party, the 40th anniversary of our country, and the elections, and which also coincides with the implementation of the VIIIth 5-Year-Plan.

In preparation for the Congress, about 5000 People's Front meetings will be held, providing opportunities to meet millions of citizens and exchange opinions with them. This will be the first large political event since the Party Congress and the elections, when the participants can expect to receive answers to their questions concerning the possibilities for realizing the programs outlined at the Congress and during the elections. Thus, the participants of the People's Front meetings expect the presence of party functionaries, parliamentary deputies, and council members who, based on the

actual situation, will determine the agenda together with the citizens, thereby further strengthening the political stability of the country.

The broader the consensus in judging the country's situation, in designating the most important tasks, and the greater the possibilities are for the discussion of concrete methods of solution, and for the utilization of individual and group efforts in the implementation of these ideas, the more stable society is likely to become, and the better prepared it is for concerted action. Societal stability is an absolute requirement for secure progress. However, preconditions for social stability are a firmness of principles and the social activity of the citizens driven by their inner convictions. Such genuine activity, as distinct from dictated and stage-managed attitudes, is evidenced by a citizen only if he sees his own role and significance clearly.

In fulfilling the tasks of the coming years, it will have a fundamental significance how we define the situation and role of the citizen and how we broaden the scope of those political, legal, and cultural institutions within which he can carry on independent, and therefore responsible, community activities. For a socialist future it is crucially important how the participation of the citizenry in self-governing and associative undertakings could further enrich the institutional system of new society (encompassing the Party, the mass organizations, the state machinery, the economy, the educational and public information network) and its public image based upon mass communications.

Is it possible for the Patriotic People's Front to become a community of citizens as well as a mass movement, political organization and public legal institution? We must answer this question with a yes. At this time, in the course of social renewal and while seeking more effective methods of activity, only policies based on the People's Front, and the People's Front itself, can guarantee that the great social organizations and the working, producing, learning and consuming citizens develop mutual trust for effective cooperation.

Such cooperation will not be easy, because Hungary's present situation is very complicated. It reveals the greatest achievements and values of the past four decades and especially of the last 25 years, but at the same time one can detect in it the grave and explosive contradictions of socialist development as well. The values serve as a motivating force, as does the elimination of contradictions. However, there are so many accumulated unsolved problems that in many important areas of our lives--especially in economics--they have made the elements of stagnation chronic. Stagnation or insufficient economic growth endangers political stability and, consequently, national unity and consensus.

It is our important task prior to the congress to examine our history and reconsider those values, achievements and methods that made possible the creation of national unity and consensus. One of the reasons for retracing our course in our thoughts is that the members of each generation join their predecessors with their own world view and the realization of historically changing necessities. Their unity and cooperation succeed best if the

if the opportunities for learning from each other are provided, and the most suitable method for this is covering the historical road together, not necessarily by assigning the role of teacher to one generation and that of student to the other, but in a way where each of them learns and instructs at the same time. Only in this manner can a lasting spirit of cooperation develop between generations building socialism.

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No matter how strict our self-examination is, the superior values of socialism must be recognized. Beginning with the distribution of the land, through the transformation in the structures of society and authority, to the economic growth and the revolution in welfare and culture, our country has experienced changes whose most important result is the metamorphosis of a populace deprived of its national identity for a century into a socialist nation. And it is this nation that now seeks the most suitable democratic forms to express its public goals, while firmly based on the new social realities. Remaining within the framework of socialist national unity, and identifying with socialism, this nation tries to find the reasons for our setbacks, searches for new paths, and awaits guidance for the solution of problems.

People frequently act in an intuitive manner. If they feel that their interests are harmed, if their justified social demands are not fulfilled, they may react spontaneously and even destructively. However, if they were given the opportunity to become a nation, such as was the case with the Hungarians, and if each of their members is considered a citizen, then their behavior, individually and together, is responsible. The future development of this requires that the public strivings of people, from associations to self-government, from the election of deputies to the selection of economic leaders, be provided with institutionalized and guaranteed forms. One of the great lessons derived from this year's parliamentary and council elections is that in each case when the leaders and organizers understood this and performed their tasks accordingly (as they did in the majority of the cases) the electorate acted maturely and used their rights in the spirit of national unity. An additional important lesson is that a People's Front policy built on the cooperation of party members and non-members provides a suitable framework within which the party can confidently undertake the development of basic political institutions.

Having learned these, one can oppose the superstition according to which people are basically anti-reform and incapable of understanding the requirements of economic and social leadership. Those who hold this view reveal their deep-seated pessimism concerning people and are unable to see in them anything but spontaneous masses. Undoubtedly, the introduction of reforms is conditioned by the existence of central and local leaders who are willing to face the problems and react to them in an enlightened manner, but their initiatives would not be accepted, or would even meet resistance, if the people were not prepared to accept them. Reforms that are not clearly presented to the people and want to achieve their aims through the use of authoritarian tactics could not be successful. When Lenin proposed that

after its victory the revolution would continue as reform, he did not think for a minute that reform politics would have to be cultivated among the few insiders, relying on the use of obscure phraseology, while the people would have to be presented with a course of action that is divorced from actual politics and public life, serving only the satisfaction of naturalistic needs.

Unquestionably, there have been and there continue to be aberrations in popular participation and in the interpretation and operation of democracy. Some of our changing institutions have difficulties in finding their roles and functions in society, and they also have difficulties in synchronizing the requirements of democratic will expressing interests and expertise revealing alternatives. Anytime one forces elected bodies to formally sanctify the decisions of experts, one denigrates democracy and the people. Mistakes concerning the role of functionaries are dangerous, in that they raise doubts concerning the efficacy of democracy. The People's Front can be, and has been, instrumental in bringing about a situation in which people, upon hearing about self-government, should not primarily think of distribution but of shared acceptance of responsibility at their work-place and at their residences alike, and upon hearing about democratic decisions they should not think of reduced demands, but of consistently meeting the expectations of the community, and strict control over this through their own representatives.

There is another superstition that must be opposed, the one that presupposes that socialism is the system of closed, eternally ossified forms, giving room to the endless circling of canonized, sanctified institutions. The truth is, if one wants to change such a system, he is not necessarily anti-socialist. It is exactly this vicious circle that must be abandoned in order to preserve socialism's attractiveness for those who live within it, as well as for future generations. Socialism should not be judged by its immutability but rather by its ability to rationally and efficiently solve the problems it faces. The problem in Hungary is not that we have "too much" socialism and that it should be reduced, but rather that there is still "too little" of it in practice, and reforms should serve to strengthen its presence.

After all, what is needed in order to increase socialism's presence? First of all, work that is many times more efficient, and producing, merchandizing and service organizations which are flexible, efficiently running and reliably cooperating with each other, and which assure that the consumer's demands are not limited by shortages but only by his income that is proportionate to his performance. Where socialism is stronger, there is more incentive for the development of production facilities and the speeding of technological progress; there is less waste, and there are fewer community-owned goods lying around untended and visibly deteriorating. Where socialism is stronger, people are more enlightened, there is a higher level of political culture, the citizens are more conscious and responsible, and there is a greater degree of human dignity.

In view of its productive, social and power relations, the society we have created through a great struggle belongs to socialism, and the further development of these relations, the growth of democracy could serve as a guarantee for a socialist future, but--largely due to reasons of global

economy--it still belongs to the age of capital when it comes to important basic processes. Forgetting this reality is a grave offense against the cause of socialism. It is commonly known that such realities are not limited to Hungarian socialism.

Now is the time to state these social facts, because only by knowing them can we understand how socialism can be strengthened by the growth of self-government in production facilities, social leadership and public administration, by the modernization of the electoral system and of socialist democracy in all areas of life. After all, it has been known for some time now that we have reached a stage of development in which the main driving force of renewal is the creative, enterprising individual. Renewal can be comprehensive for the entire society only if these abilities are allowed to develop. Productive man, the citizen of this country must be elevated by one degree in political life, in order to enable him to perform on a level several degrees higher in economic and cultural life. If we do not do this, we will be limited to preserving the social and economic balance and regulating the relationships of distribution with difficulty, and the increase in production, the application of scientific achievements and the renewal of our technology will remain beyond the scope of our possibilities.

* * *

Socialist national unity has its own basic principles that have been formed through social consensus, but these can only remain operative as units if society can develop further on these same bases, if the people will be regarded as members of a creative nation, who rise into the community of nations by rejecting all forms of nationalism and degrading, harmful prejudice. During the last three decades Hungary has followed this course, and now we must prepare to continue this progress.

It is socialism that provides the opportunities for the creative forces of a nation to develop to their fullest. It was under the aegis of socialism that Hungarians, consciousness of national identity and progressive ideas were able to join in a lasting and historical unity. We know what kind of crises and conflicts preceded the creation of this unity, but we also know that its very existence gives us a genuine, practical opportunity to cast aside, once and for all, the false alternative of "country or progress." Under the system of socialism, we could finally achieve the goal declared during the Reform Period of the 19th century: the unity of country and progress.

This national unity proved itself to be viable, because it brought with it a "social contract," a public consensus (unwritten, but in fact accepted by the majority) for the solution of concrete societal tasks. There is a conscious political decision behind this contract, the alliance policy of the Party which has as its basic principle the recognition that in socialism, too, the interest of society becomes manifested through the specific transmission system of individual-, group-, layer-, and class-interests.

Of course, this public consensus could not have come into being, no matter how much insight, patience and understanding were invested in the organization

of the interests, if they were not accompanied by several important and consistently applied political factors, the most significant of which are:

--great attention must be paid to satisfying the everyday needs of people, in the material as well as the spiritual spheres;

--in the relationship of Party members and non-members, the Party must at all times be clear as to its aims and its world-view, but the cooperation of communists and non-communists should not be regulated by considerations of world-view, but by those of politics;

--great, comprehensive political decisions should not be made until their necessity is not realized by the masses; on the other hand, decisions for which there is a social demand should not be delayed;

--the Party receives its mandate for its leading role from the working classes; therefore, the primary ingredient of its activities should consist of persuasion;

--the Party's decisions should be clear, understandable, and subject to control and overview by the people from whom its mandate originates.

The policies working toward the creation of public consensus needed the institutions of socialist democracy and the continuous process of democratization. Only under the conditions of democracy, which precludes the possibility for tyranny and voluntarism alike, can genuine public consensus and the resulting political stability be achieved. In this democracy--since we are talking about a one-party system--the significance of intra-party democracy is particularly great. The internal relationships of an organization that has a major role in the development of the country exert strong influence upon the attitudes of society.

The HSWP/MSzMP learned its lesson from the experiences of its predecessor, the HWP/MDP, and from the grave mistakes made during the early stages of building socialism. The reshaping of the entire Party had a confidence-building and consolidating effect on society. It was nothing less than the reconstruction of the Party's structure, its organizational life and its methods in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. It was soon revealed that the people did not view as alien a party that respects values--including national values--one that knows what it wants, is consistent in its principles, but assigns its aims in a flexible, broadminded manner, relying on the support of the majority. It was also revealing that, in a mass party that functioned as a political vanguard, the membership wanted to follow consciously accepted goals, taking into consideration the mood of the country's populace. We could learn from the history of the HWP/MDP that if the leadership follows unrealistic goals, fails to share its problems with the membership, or reduces the members to insignificance, then the latter will come to resemble the apathy-ridden masses, and in critical situations will empathize with popular behavior, be it motivated by positive or false aims. These experiences led the HSWP's leadership to declare that party democracy is absolutely necessary, that it is a public affair, one of the conditions for cooperation between party leadership and the members, and a factor guaranteeing the good relationship between the party and society.

This consideration called for the further development of societal democracy in the institutions of the state as well as in factories and workplaces. In the political sense we can only talk about socialism if we can give convincing affirmative answers to these questions: Who possesses authority? and: How is this authority enforced? Even if we say that authority belongs to the working classes, to the people, we remain less than convincing if we cannot give an acceptable answer to the question: How is authority enforced? This has been the basic problem in connection with perfecting democracy during the past quarter century, and the same issue will attract most of the attention in the future.

The other great question is related to this: What type of institutions do we need in socialism, in order so that interests be represented and, preferably without great conflicts and trauma, result in the creation of social consensus?

The third question, no less important and inseparable from the previous ones, is this: What role will the citizen perform in exercising authority through the associations he creates? This evokes further questions: What are the conditions of public life? How does the majority's opinion evolve, how is it being expressed, and how does it change with the changing conditions? Our policies have been characterized by efforts to answer these questions in a positive manner; thus, they have contributed to the strengthening of public consensus and, through it, socialist national unity.

The unity of society is based on socialist principles, the common ownership of the most important means of production. This unity has been nurtured, made stronger and more viable by the "social contract," the public consensus resulting from effectively applying the policy of alliance. Beyond eliminating the mistakes of the 1950's, there were two factors that made this contract acceptable to the people: First, the policies affecting the standard of living which, though not in an equal measure, made it possible for every social layer and class to improve its material conditions, suggesting that the well-being of the individual depends on the success of socialism. Second, the program aimed at developing socialist democracy, as a result of which the majority of people shed their inferiority complex and their indifference toward the affairs of the community, and became the object rather than the subject of authority. One indication of this change is the enthusiastic and profitable community work undertaken for the improvement of towns and villages, and in the context of which the populace expresses their constructive criticism of the national budget. What this implies is that citizens, going beyond the possibilities offered by the budget, shape the cultural and existential conditions of their communities, contributing billions of forints to the national wealth, and improving public services. The fact that, due to the ineffectiveness of certain institutions or the ignorance of certain citizens, this is not yet a general practice, does not detract from its positive achievements.

It can be stated, therefore, that national unity and public consensus exist in Hungary. This is a living reality and a value that deserve respect, acknowledged domestically and abroad alike. However, it is not a stone idol, preserved by the hardness of its material and the faith of people attached

to it, but rather a living organism, created from the fragile and ephemeral mixture of social conditions and human relationships. This unity can only be preserved by a political course that does not adhere to the existing institutions with superstitious adoration, but further develops them in order to preserve them.

* * *

The slowdown and stagnation of economic growth raises doubts concerning the economic efficacy of socialism. The basic reason for this is that, in spite of the economic crisis, several developed capitalist countries succeeded in increasing their lead, measurable by GNP. True, this cannot be separated from the significant redistribution of incomes in the less developed regions. Simultaneously, a large-scale electronic-technological revolution is in the making, while Hungary faces serious obstacles in its technological development. In this situation, it is understandable why many people have growing misgivings about socialism's ability to perform, even if the worries Hungary is facing are in fact similar to those encountered by the moderately developed capitalist nations.

There are no easy and quick solutions in this situation. Only a thorough, honest and critical analysis and a decisive summary of the lessons, keeping the interests of society and progress uppermost in our minds, can offer a way out. In seeking truth and discovering reality, there can be no compromise.

The majority of our society accepts socialism and identifies with it, regarding the leadership of the Party as correct and rational, and viewing our foreign policy as being in accord with the interests of the nation. This is that principled common denominator, based upon which it is possible to create social cooperation between party members and non-members, believers and non-believers, without forcing anyone to turn his back upon his world-view against his convictions. Thus, there are no reasons of conscience opposed to public consensus. Still, what can work against a broad public agreement? Various social and economic processes and faulty decisions alike. The effect of policies concerning the standard of living upon the evolution of public consensus has been demonstrated to us. We also know that our choice of action in this sphere has been severely curtailed during the recent past. As long as this is so, as long as we are unable to stimulate the rise in the standards of living by a new phase of economic growth, we must strive to protect those who are not in the position to supplement their incomes by earning money in addition to their regular salaries, and whose basic conditions of existence are threatened by inflation. This category includes a significant portion of urban-dwelling industrial workers, the urban intelligentsia, and those who are just starting their careers, as well as most people in retirement.

Of course, the public mood concerning the standard of living is also greatly influenced by the balance of supply and demand. We should make sure, therefore, that the phenomenon of shortage should not prevail in public consumption.

The above phenomena could result in a reduction in the number of those who participate in public consensus. However, this does not have to happen: On

the one hand, because, even in the prevailing economic situation, it is possible to regulate distribution in such a circumspect manner that the political tolerance and societal weight of the various layers be taken into consideration. On the other hand, by developing socialist democracy and the system of political institutions, responsibility can be more evenly distributed within society. Even during times of economic hardships, the spreading and strengthening of self-government, self-administration, and the increasing frequency of initiatives originating from local autonomy can bring about a sense of satisfaction. Society also benefits if local disputes are solved locally, instead of accumulating in national conflicts. In other words, the further development of democracy can create the formal conditions for the handling and solution of the conflicts in an institutionalized, efficient manner, serving social harmony and thus public consensus.

* * *

One of the most important lessons learned from the successful politics of the last quarter century is that the Party has been able to relieve societal tensions in time. This ability has been connected to the transformation in the exercise of authority: in its consolidating and conflict-solving efforts the Party relied on social, economic and political institutions to express the various interests. The consolidating policies of the Party have also set the tone for the activities of the People's Front which, exactly for this reason, experienced a radical departure from the transmission function performed during the early stages of building socialism.

We consider it necessary to provide more detailed and broader information to the citizenry concerning this aspect of the People's Front's activities. Every effort should be made to utilize the channels of mass communication as well as organizational means to propagate the results achieved by the People's Front in its interest-protecting work, and specifically its gains in defending the cause of citizenry and the local communities.

Regardless of its many detrimental consequences, the difficult economic situation should not prevent us from functioning. Even if their effect will be felt only indirectly, the broadening of scope for action, the increase in the efficiency of the system of political institutions, the improvement of morals, and the implementation of a system of demands that is based upon solid values could, in the final analysis, contribute to bettering the economic conditions.

Of course, politics can exert a beneficial effect upon economics if a system of indicators operates in the proper manner within management, informing the decisionmakers and leadership organs before troubles accumulate to the point of explosion. This illustrates especially well that the recognition and solution of an economic problem has consequences reaching far beyond the economic sphere. After all, the economic system of indicators is, by and large, identical to the one operating in political life.

The socio-political aspects of material production are inseparable from economic conditions. This alone explains why in a socialist country, based

upon the principle of societal ownership, economic conflicts always end up turning into political conflicts. This is the reason for considering the internal restructuring of the enterprises, or the maintenance of investment balance as much political issues as the improvement of plant management practices, or the shaping of commodity- and market-relations.

When it comes to the relationship between economics and politics, the responsibility is as much with the socio-political organizations as it is with the state machinery. The goals of economic policy are presented as state goals, and they are achieved primarily through the use of state-owned means. It follows from this that the socio-political organizations concentrate on influencing the political-economic activities of the state organs, thus aiming to achieve their societal aspirations. Having the necessary theoretical and practical knowledge, these political movements could reveal the conflicts operating in economic life, and could employ political means, mobilize human reserves and provide room for the application of abilities to overcome the aberrations.

A good political course, however, is not limited to voicing the demands and needs of the masses and of society, but should also be familiar with the possibilities of satisfying them. These are the possibilities concerning which economics and production provide information to the political leaders. This implies that the conflicts and occasional confusion of economic life encompass the criticism of one or the other political concept as well. It is conceivable in the course of building socialism that political leadership is compelled to interfere directly and regulate certain economic processes, in order to overcome certain historical contradictions. However, decisions that ignore socio-economic conditions and fail to distinguish between desires and possibilities, are not justified by any situation.

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POLAND

JARUZELSKI ADDRESSES NATIONAL HOUSING COUNCIL

AU061322 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Nov 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] PAP--The Council of Ministers' National Council of Housing Affairs met for the first time on 31 October. The members of the Council received their mandates from the premier, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary.

The Council consists of a broad representation of social, political, and professional organizations, as well as representatives of PRON, trade unions, the scientific community, and state institutions.

Welcoming the Council's members, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that by accepting their nominations for membership, they have taken on a difficult yet rewarding task, the solving of problems which possess the greatest urgency from society's point of view and which determine the future standard of living, especially of the young generation. Speaking about the significance of the Council, he pointed out its role, especially in coordinating efforts and action in order to improve the population's housing situation. However, its work must be accompanied by a greater understanding of the need for energy from the whole of society, he said. For significant progress in construction and in developing the country and its cities and villages may only be achieved by developing the national economy and increasing the national income. The premier thanked the activists from PRON and from the All-Polish Trade Union Accord who had presented the initiative of creating the Council.

Even so, we are not starting everything from scratch, he said. After all, so much has been built in our country over the past 40 years. Over 32 million people have moved into new apartments. We sometimes feel their shortage keenly, but this is not just because of neglect, as is often believed, but because of certain accumulated difficulties. Stressing that the commencement of the Council's work is a time of great importance, W. Jaruzelski said that its composition, a broad representation, guarantees an energetic and fruitful activity. He wished the Council's members success in this much-needed work for the country and society.

Opening the working part of the meeting, Deputy Premier Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council, described the main tasks and problems which will

be the subject of its work and interest. He also stressed that in its work, the Council will make broad use of the knowledge and experience both of its members and the institutions they represent.

Let us recall that the tasks of the Council, created by the Council of Ministers 4 October resolution, include coordinating the implementation of housing policy, working out ideas for future housing programs and plans, and encouraging the proper conditions for their performance.

That is why the focus of the Council's interest in the immediate future will be the housing construction program for the next 5 years. The principles of this plan and the conditions necessary for implementing it were described by Deputy Premier Manfred Gorywoda, chairman of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission. He described the current housing situation as very difficult and complicated, and also as departing from the expectations of society, especially young families. Among the reasons for this state of affairs he mentioned the collapse of the economy and the drop in outlay on construction at the beginning of the eighties. However, the latest decisions and actions have permitted a halt to the falling trend in housing construction. Thanks for this, one may already foresee that the 3-year planning which called for the building of 530,000-590,000 apartments, will be fulfilled. Toward the end of the plan, 580,000 families will receive the keys to their new apartments, and we will have a total of 950,000 new apartments during the entire 5-year period. Notable is the fact that there are other important and positive changes which are not always satisfactorily noticed. For example, housing density has diminished, usable space has increased, and the extent of repair work on existing housing blocks is already much greater.

Discussing existing housing needs and the expected extent of housing construction in the next few years, M. Gorywoda spoke about the conditions necessary to boost construction. He regarded increasing the supply of building materials, developing the communal infrastructure, preparing building sites more quickly, and guaranteeing an adequate work capability as the most important ones. He said that new and costly investments are needed to solve these and many other problems, as well as time in which to achieve the production results we are expecting. We must also introduce new technology and solutions in order to reduce the materials and energy intensiveness of construction. An important task in easing housing problems is also modernizing old buildings. This is meant to gain considerable priority in the coming years. Apart from the depreciation of old resources, the cost effectiveness analysis speaks in favor of it. On average, the complete modernization of one apartment costs half of what it costs to build a new one.

Discussing the financing of and issue of credits for construction, M. Gorywoda presented some of the proposed changes to the current financial system, as well as solution which are meant to lead to people financing housing construction out of their own pockets to a greater degree. He regarded finding the most rational ways of using these funds for construction as a primary task. For this will determine the number of apartments to be received by families waiting for them.

The Council is to discuss the program for improving the situation with construction and the housing economy at its next session.

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POLAND

URBAN ON ELECTION THREATS, CHURCH STANCE

AU311321 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Oct 85 pp 4-5

["Transcript" of press conference for foreign journalists given by Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 22 October]

[Excerpt] Kevin Ruane, BBC: Could you explain why the planned meeting with church representatives was called off? Does this mean that the government is no longer as interested in the agricultural fund as it once was?

Urban: Of course, there is a certain relationship between the level of interest and the sums involved. During the course of direct contact between the heads of both negotiating teams, it was decided to fix a date for the next meeting at the beginning of November. I am, therefore, very surprised at the form which the church's communique on a date for the next meeting on the agricultural fund took.

Kevin Ruane, BBC: Forgive me, minister, but I do not think you have explained why the meeting was called off?

Urban: The meeting was postponed, as often happens. So far 29 such meetings have taken place, and their dates are established through usual working procedures. There is nothing strange about this at all.

Zbigniew Rawicz, Radio Polonia: Minister, the spokesman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group made a statement on the Polish elections. Could the minister comment on this statement?

Urban: I view the statement as being an expression of the militant anti-communism of that part of the FRG Christian Democratic Party which is rooted in extreme nationalism and supports the revisionist tendencies which manifest themselves in compatriot associations. The statement represents one of the moves made by right-wing nationalists to torpedo the normalization process in Polish-FRG relations. We reject Mr Hans Huyn's statement, we reject the language of his statement, and we reject those intentions to which he gave expression in his statement. I should like to say that I am surprised and disturbed by the content and tone of this statement, which is

so plainly at odds with FRG Government declarations on the subject of relations with Poland, and which mars the prevailing climate in Polish-FRG relations.

As for allegations of Polish voters being terrorized into going to the polls, I have before me some texts which, when compared, are very instructive. They are texts of Radio Free Europe broadcasts. On 16 October, after the elections, the radio station said "Not voting, in the face of threats of sanctions, is an act of great civil courage. Academics are denied permission to travel abroad, children are not admitted to higher education, farmers face being denied supplies of seed and seed-potatoes, workers face harassment at work. One does indeed need to be courageous to abstain from voting. In spite of this every fifth Pole did go to vote according to government sources." But earlier in the same month, on 3 October, Radio Free Europe said: "Contrary to rumors, those who boycotted the elections did not lose pensions, bonuses; they are issued passports, and their children do obtain places in higher education. It turned out that there was nothing to be afraid of. During the people's council elections--and Radio Free Europe quotes Mr Bujak--"many people were afraid of losing their jobs, and of being denied a passport. Fears that people went to vote because they were afraid of losing their ration cards proved to be without foundation. The most absurd rumors will circulate about punishments for not voting. In these elections our ally will be the absence of repression and the fact that during the last elections the barrier of fear was overcome."

It does seem amusing that before the elections Radio Free Europe assured us that no pressure would be applied to voters, that there would be no harassment and threats, so as to rally support for the boycott. But after the elections Radio Free Europe said something quite different, that people were threatened, pressured into voting. And this is already being picked upon by politicians in the West, and not only Mr Huyn who spoke on the subject.

And I would like to take this opportunity to correct some information I gave at the last press conference. While disputing some matter raised by Western publications, I said that during the last presidential actions in the United States, 75 percent of those eligible to vote went to the polls, fewer, therefore, than in Poland. I was wrong, only 53 percent of those eligible to vote took part in the elections, and the figure I have was for the number of those who voted as a percentage of eligible voters who had registered to vote. In the case of the American elections, only 53 percent of the country's voters went to the polls, but for some reason nobody says that this is a small number, that the American regime is being boycotted by society, as Western politicians and the Western press do when they interpret the election turnout in Poland.

Christopher Bobinski, THE FINANCIAL TIMES: I would like to [word indistinct] the issue of the agricultural fund. The fact that 29 negotiating meetings have been held in the past 2 years means that one side does not want or is unable to make a decision one way or another. Since Cardinal Glemp is absolutely in favor of the foundation it follows that the government either is unable to make a decision on it or does not want it. Could it be assumed

that the cancellation of the most recent fundation meeting was a punishment for the fact that about 4 percent of the bishops voted in the Sejm elections?

Urban: It is ridiculous to assume any punishment. The Catholic Church's attitude toward the elections is another, a serious, problem. At present our experts continue to examine the specific funding programs in the light of the \$18 million or so promised to the church and will select the best programs to suit Polish farming. However, in view of the size of the government funds for farming, these programs are not so crucial for it.

In the coming 5-year period our government will spend an equivalent of \$16 billion on our farming. As for the \$16 million promised by the U.S. Government, you will see how much it is when I tell you that the American sanctions have cost us some \$15 billion, including \$3 billion in losses suffered by our agriculture. You can easily see that the \$10 million promised by the U.S. Administration for the church fund is a drop in the bucket of our farming losses.

Robert Strybel, the POLONIA press: On the first anniversary of Father Popieluszko's death the rector on the St Stanislaus Parish invited the militia and the security service to attend a special mass of reconciliation on 31 October. Will they attend? How would you comment on the functions in connection with this anniversary?

Urban: It is not my business to comment on strictly religious ties. It is my wish that priests in the churches could demonstration in this way their attitude toward the Security Service and the militia, because, unfortunately, aggressive slanders are quite frequent. I have nothing to say about the special mass in question. I do not know what you want me to do. Why should I comment on prayers? I comment on religious functions only if it is necessary to defend the government against the political aggression emanating from the pulpits.

Zbigniew Rawidz, Radio Polonia: Could you comment on yesterday's meeting between R. Reagan and Jerzy Milewski, head of the Solidarity Bureau in Brussels?

Urban: No. It is not for the spokesman for the Polish Government to comment on the program for the U.S. President's daily activities.

As a private person I can say with a modicum of envy that apparently the U.S. President has enough time on his hands if he is able to devote it to a meeting of such doubtful worth and one that is as devoid of political results just as the meetings with Spasowski and Rurarz were.

I have also noted that this meeting has excited only Radio Free Europe and the Polish section of the VOA, because the big U.S. television stations did not register it at all.

Robert Strybel: Coming back to the anniversary of Father Popielsuzko's death: You said that the anniversary function is a purely religious affair. Does this mean that you know the contents of the planned homily? Is it for this reason that you regard the homily as devoid of political clericalism? Or have you no knowledge of this homily?

Urban: No, I do not go to church at all and I do not know the contents of the homily. Nor do I possess any information that it contains whatever would require a commentary by the government spokesman. It is rare that we comment on the contents of religious rites. Except when they are most obviously politically colored.

Christopher Bobinski: Do members of the government differ on the establishment of an amalgamation of the metallurgical industry? How far are the draft proposals in this connection advanced?

Urban: Our government's activities are based on solidarity of views. Members of the government continue to air their views before making a decision about the amalgamation of the iron and steel plants. The work to develop concepts is continuing.

Surender Bhutani, the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA: Did Vice Premier Rakowski criticize the conduct of students at his meeting yesterday with them at the Gdansk Polytechnic?

Urban: M. Rakowski is in charge of higher education and this is why he has a good knowledge of the moods, views, and other student problems. His speech was not critical of students. It contained an analysis of the political situation in universities and among students. Analyzing and presenting the facts do not amount to criticism, although M. Rakowski did criticize certain attitudes of students and of other people. For example, he criticized the attitude of waiting for socialism to wither away, as he said.

Michal Kaufman, THE NEW YORK TIMES: The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] said before the Sejm elections that allowing two candidates to compete for a single seat was a very great breakthrough in the election procedures. However, it is the fact that none of the second candidates was elected. Is this a certain evolution in democratizing the election process in Poland?

Urban: Yes, I think it is. However, I cannot help saying that if the moods of our people were such as so often depicted by THE NEW YORK TIMES we would probably run a colossal risk in allowing two candidates to compete for a single seat since the first candidate backed by us against the electorate might lose in favor of the second candidate. If our people were really against the PRON candidates as alleged by the NYT, it would be odds on that the first candidate would be at the mercy of the electorate and that everyone would cross his name out.

Key Withers, the BALTIMORE SUN: Could you confirm that at Warsaw University only 15 percent of voters did vote? What is the government's attitude toward this event?

Urban: I know nothing about the 15 percent of Warsaw University students voting in the elections. We know how many of them voted in line with the territorial structure, but we do not know how many did in line with their origins. No one has measured or could measure this. As for the academic community itself, it was noted that the student participation in the voting was below the average in some towns, although in many towns and places throughout the country it was not below average, which means that it is incorrect to generalize. We realize that students' political awareness is one of the serious problems and tasks facing the party, the appropriate organizations, and the academic educators.

It would like to add that the UPI report that four advisers of Walesa were arrested is not true. These persons were summoned to the Gdansk Internal Affairs office to clarify some matters.

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CSO: 2600/111

POLAND

POLEMICS ON CHURCH 'POLITICAL' ACTIVITY CONTINUE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Lobman: "On 'Setting Up' the Opponent and 'Rules of the Game'"]

[Text] Editor Andrzej Micewski has hurried to succor editor Jerzy Turowicz by publishing an article entitled "More on the Church and Politics" in No 33 of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY (18 August). Unfortunately he also adopted the tactic that in my article of 1 April I called a "conscious truck serving to obscure the essence of the problem." This does not move the matter forward.

Editor Micewski declares, in polemics with editor Turowicz, that there is "an attempt at setting up the opponent in positions that are doomed in advance." Let us see then what methods he himself uses.

Editor Micewski writes: "Any self respecting person would not accept the proposition: you may speak out on public matters if you commend, but if you want to criticize, remember that religion is a private matter; sit quietly and pray." He also writes: "Denying the church or Catholics the right to criticize, to which it encourages all other citizens, is an absurdity." This idea is repeated several times in the article. TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY's author takes the opportunity to recall certain positive opinions on specific church actions contained in the main report of the 9th Party Congress and positive appraisals of certain actions of the hierarchy during the social crises of recent years. He also asks, not without a certain note of provocation in his tone, whether the opinions in these matters have undergone a change.

One must say regretfully that this whole argumentation corresponds exactly to the charge of "setting up the opponent" that the author levels against Turowicz's polemicists. As one of the journalists who so move Micewski, I must repeat what I wrote in April: "for action on political terrain one uses different rules of the game," "rules" of the political game. In contrast to the metaphysical sphere, where for the faithful the truths of the church can be unique and unshakable, in the political spheres its concepts can merely be one of many current truths. The basic quality of any political action is that its participants -- individuals as well as organizations -- bear the

consequences of their actions and are accountable for them. These are the consequences.

Accountability is equal for everyone and are consistent with law. Secular law. Meanwhile the design presented by Turowicz leads not only to stipulating equality (which in Poland is not denied to anyone if he operates within the bounds of law) but also acknowledging the superior role, the "prophetic function," which "the church will never relinquish," along with . . . separation from all worldly responsibility for its actions. In my next article I stressed even more clearly that the matter of this responsibility, secular responsibility for actions in the secular domain, was the "main point of the article."

And where is there denial of the right to criticism, where is the call for "social absence?" Indeed, in both articles I concerned myself only with the issue of the "political game" and the equality of all those taking part in that game. If we are talking about the church and Catholics, it is absurd to insinuate that I stipulated curtailing the normal civil rights belonging to representatives of that group. I merely objected to the tendencies toward assuming a position above these laws and the other participants in the debate. Could such a requirement for equality in discussion submitted by an "odd" journalist have so upset editor Micewski that it obscured for him even the usual principles of respect for elementary material truth in polemics?

Editor Micewski is not free from the tendency to confuse certain ideas. He writes: "religion is not merely a private matter; from the Gospel, from the main Christian commandment of love, emerges the obligation to active work on behalf of man and society." If the principle by which Catholics are guided binds them to work on behalf of society, that is very nice. On this point they are close to Marxist principles. From the general social point of view, religion is the private affair of every person. In political activity, it is the political purpose of that activity that is evaluated, not its subjective impulses. This is one of the principles of the political game and of course no one has ever discouraged editor Micewski and his friends from participating in that game, nor moreover denied them the right to such participation. We stand -- it is necessary to emphasize this one more time -- on a plane of broad national understanding and we welcome every extended hand.

Also, in accordance with these principles, it will not be difficult to answer editor Micewski's demagogic question. Are opinions changing? They do not have to. For they are opinions on particular concrete actions. Positive where the actions evaluated were positive. Negative where they were not positive. Because somehow it has not occurred to editor Micewski that it is not so much that "in the 40 year period opinions have differed several times" as that the actions were evaluated differently. And it wasn't Marx who wrote "by their actions you shall judge them"

Editor Micewski also alluded to the notion that "social presence also requires observing certain elementary rules of the game." But he perceives these rules rather strangely. He writes, for example, with clear contemptuous irony about "so-called national understanding." does this mean that despite the principle

of acting on behalf of society he places himself and others ideologically close to him beyond the limits of that understanding. And is this kind of contemptuously ironic tone in something that the overwhelming majority of .pa citizens today see as a very important element of political action consistent with these rules of the game?

But in repudiating "social absence" Micewski writes that "the problem does not lie in our being invited somewhere." But after all the point here is not an invitation to Auntie's nameday party, but an invitation to social action. How is it then with this real denial of the evangelical obligation to active social work?

On another matter, also from the realm of "rules of the game," editor Micewski writes: "The church . . . takes care that its statement are closely tied to its evangelical mission and are not exploited by any secular and earthly interests or any political pressure groups. . . ." Are the facts of placing materials glorifying illegal, anti-state activity in an obvious way in some churches consistent with this principle? I do not feel competent to judge whether the introduction of such subject into elements of purely religious symbolism (Christmas manger scenes, sepulchres for Easter, etc) does not have a flavor of blasphemy. But is this not a rather typical example of the conscious mixing of political and religious elements, the goal of which is to avoid responsibility for actions that are as secular as can be.

Editor Micewski writes: "The church fulfills its critical and prophetic function in complete accordance with the good of man, the nation and the state. In any case people who go to church and listen to pastoral letters and communiques from the Polish Episcopate know this well." But in addition to pastoral letters and communiques, sermons are preached in several thousand churches in Poland every Sunday. Can editor Micewski say with a clear conscience that all of them present "creative, not destructive, positions," at least when it comes to our people's state? And is this not also a mixing of religious and political elements? Does this conform to the rules of the game?

Finally, the last issue. Editor Micewski writes: "If the Polish church in the postwar period achieved such great prestige in the country and abroad, it has resulted from observing the evangelical dimension of its social and moral intervention. . . . At the same time, poor Poland, which is going through a serious crisis of civilizations, is popular thanks to the spiritual and cultural influence of Catholicism. . . . Because of the universality of Catholicism, its significance in Poland. . . can bring enormous benefits to the country and simply assure it of popularity in the world. . . ."

Here one must open editor Micewski's eyes. It is enough to look through several respectable magazines or books in the West or listen to the Polish language broadcasts of Western radio stations to discover that the West is by no means concerned with the "spiritual and cultural influence of Catholicism." It conducts a systematic policy of church opposition to the state in Poland. A policy whose aim is the instrumental use of the Polish church as a tool in the struggle against the socialist state and socialist community. Besides -- perhaps -- some narrow circle of Catholic philosophers who may have other

interests, this antagonistic conflict which Western authors try to create in their propaganda is the only thing that interests them in the context of the church's activity in Poland. Because they have their own rules of the game, they know them and use them with total consistency.

In summary, it is necessary to repeat once again: No one is denying editor Turowicz the right to normal criticism, as it is not denied to other citizens. On the other hand, the enigmatic prophecy to which editor Turowicz alluded and to which editor Micewski now alludes, in their opinion, places the group they represent -- one of the groups existing in our society -- above its other members. I cannot agree with this. For in all these polemics the point is by no means the equality of Catholics, as the polemicists of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY suggest, but their claim to denying equality to others. An extremely anachronistic thing in this 20th Century.

12776

CSO: 2600/24

POLAND

DISSIDENT JACEK KURON VIEWS PROSPECTS FOR POLAND

PM160707 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 8 Sep 85 p 10

[Luis Foix dispatch: "Solutions to Grave Crisis in Poland"]

[Excerpts] Warsaw--The situation in Poland is quite simple: The government does not recognize the society which it governs but does not wish to exchange it for another. However, society does not recognize the government but cannot exchange it for another.

With this categorical assertion dissident and former Trotskyite Jacek Kuron, who has been imprisoned on several occasions, was tried and acquitted in June, and is now residing in a humble Warsaw apartment, where he earns his living by writing books and articles about what is happening in Poland, sums up his country's problems. The police keep him under surveillance but do not bother him.

In a deliberate and thorough analysis of the situation in his country, Kuron wondered why, for instance, if Poland is the country which produces most steel per capita in the world, there are no nuts or spare parts and with so many steel byproducts in many instances must be imported. "Here we are told about the high production figures, the bridges containing so many tons of concrete, and the production capacity for coal, but we do not have the bare essentials to live," Lech Walesa's adviser asserted.

According to Kuron, the political system's failure is economic, since it has not produced a minimum degree of prosperity for citizens. It is surprising that a man who belonged to the Trotskyite ranks and who believes in a progressive and open social democracy should say the following, quoting Professor Edward Lipinski, who was chairman of the Workers Defense Committee movement for many years: "Either the economy is a market economy or it does not exist as an economy, in the same way that democracy is parliamentary or is not democracy."

Official Opinion Polls

Citing official opinion polls, Jacek Kuron maintains that 25 percent of the population in Poland would now be prepared to defend the system because they

identify with it in some way, whether from the ideological viewpoint or because they are reconciled to current circumstances. Another 25 percent are directly opposed to the situation and would undertake to struggle openly in order to change the regime's orientation. Last, there remains the 50 percent of people who have lost sensitivity and would be inclined toward violent change only if the prospects of its succeeding were certain.

If current conditions do not change, Kuron asserts, we will reach a situation very similar to that of Romania; that is, a collective impoverishment which will bring about another social revolt such as those which Poland experienced in 1956, 1970, 1976, and 1980. "What will happen is that the alternative solution will no longer be able to come from the current structure, because after the experience of Gomulka, Gierek, and Jaruzelski all hope has been lost that a leader capable of creating hopes could emerge."

Despite everything, Kuron maintains that there are possible solutions: The first is action by the Army, especially among its younger generation, to lead the country to gradual change without resorting to violence. Obviously Jaruzelski's generation is in no position to bring the country to that situation, but the young lieutenants could do so when they attain power in the next generation.

The second hope is that the economic crisis to which the so-called socialist world is subject will fail to withstand the pressures from the population. But this phenomenon, Kuron asserts, can only originate in the Soviet Union. In other words, only if the Kremlin realized that it must change the Soviet economic structure radically would the phenomenon spread naturally to the whole Eastern bloc world.

The third solution would also have to originate in Moscow, once the Soviet leaders realize that they need to seek a "modus vivendi" with the West. One of the issues which they would have to resolve would be that of Afghanistan--a very high price which Gorbachev would have to pay, involving military withdrawal from that country.

In Kuron's opinion, the fourth hope would have to originate in Jaruzelski's current team curbing the economic decline. It would be a pragmatic solution, without ideological caprices, which would attempt to adjust to the population's basic interests. But, according to this long-standing dissident, this is very remote.

/6662

CSO: 2548/22

POLAND

DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Messner in Katowice

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Sep 85 p 2

[Article by (PAP)]

[Text] Member of the Political Office of the PZPR Central Committee, Deputy Premier Zbigniew Messner, met with the social-political and administrative leaders of Katowice Province.

Conditions were discussed concerning the implementation of social-administrative tasks in basic industrial sectors. Speakers stressed the great selflessness of mining and mill crews and the thousands of worker associations in factories and enterprises which, despite raw materials problems, are mobilizing reserves in order to best implement this year's production plans. Favoring this desire is the social activization of the region's inhabitants. It was also asserted that the effort can also be advanced through the accompanying preelection campaign which has enhanced the current initiatives concerning new proposals and observations voiced during meetings with the public.

Zbigniew Messner also participated in a session of the Provincial Defense Committee and met with a group of students from the Academy of Economics in Katowice.

Czestochowa Defense Committee

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 10 Sep 85 p 2

[Article by (rr)]

[Text] The Provincial Defense Committee yesterday evaluated the extent of the public's legal awareness in the province of Czestochowa. The deliberations were led by Governor Grzegorz Lipowski. He asserted during the discussions that although various actions had been undertaken to raise legal awareness, its status was not satisfactory. The Provincial Defense Committee recommended an increase in the participation of the Association of Polish Lawyers. Things are also not going well

with the special consideration to influence school-age people and conduct court trials in the workplace more frequently. Attention was also focused on the need to step up educational efforts in penal institutions. Member of the Provincial Defense Committee were informed about the plan to set up medical-educational facilities during the current school year for the purpose of fighting drug abuse.

Lomza Defense Committee

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 12 Sep 85 p 2

[Article by (jtb)]

[Text] The current social and political situation in the province with regard to law, order and security was discussed at yesterday's session of the Provincial Defense Committee in Lomza.

References were made to the additional evidence of stabilization of the situation and public mood in the province. This stabilization is expressed in the nature and problems of pre-election discussion for the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic.

In addition to this permanent subject of all the Provincial Defense Committee's sessions, the activities of the Voluntary Reserve of the Civic Militia (ORMO) in the province of Lomza were discussed.

The organization has almost 3,500 members and their number is successfully growing. Half of the membership is under 40 years of age; this is important from the aspect of the difficult service which sets the requirements for the efficient and proper preparations to accomplish the tasks associated with maintaining order.

The Provincial Defense Committee emphasized the positive results of the universal participations of ORMO members in a series of undertakings aimed at combating crime, waste and inefficiency, as well as fighting for cleanliness and beauty. An example can be the participation of ORMO members in the struggle against speculation or in the "Rynek," "Poseja," and "Spokoj" operations.

The Provincial Defense Committee also became acquainted with ORMO's plans for celebrating 40 years of social service. The celebration will take place in July 1986. Proposals passed by the Provincial Defense Committee emphasize future activities of the organization and the need of local state administrative agencies and plant managers to provide assistance. Models of good solutions are provided by Lomza, Grajewo, Goniadz and Zambrow.

The Provincial Defense Committee expressed words of gratitude to the members and leadership of ORM0 for their selfless service in recent and difficult years. An appeal was also directed to the public for its active support of people, who, in addition to their duties in the workplace and in life, work publicly to protect law, order and public security.

12247/9738

CSO: 2600/3

POLAND

YOUTH DAILY ON STUDENT SELF-GOVERNMENT

AU281136 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 23 Oct 85 p 3

["Student Self-Government: "The Right to a Voice" by Grzegorz Onichimowski]

[Excerpts] Three years ago a draft status on self-government was produced at Warsaw Polytechnic: It was almost identical to the new self-government regulations. A case of prescience?

"Self-government should mean that a given community has the right to be independent in decisionmaking, to be free from administrative pressure," maintains Wieslaw Kaczmarek, one of the draft statute's originator.

In the case of students, this should above all mean independence from college administrations rather than the state administration. This gave rise to the idea of rooting the system of self-government in the broadest community base possible, that composed of dormitory residents and faculty-student groups. It also gave rise to conceiving the structure and authority of self-government in a manner which facilitates cooperation with other organizations and not competition with them for "the government of souls".

The question of student self-government was frequently raised during discussion on amendments to the May 1982 law. In the end, the Sejm decided to retain existing student representation while defining its scope of activity as the resolution of social, teaching, and educational problems. The executive actions taken at the end of September, the instructions given by the minister of education and higher schools, have provided a more precise account of the structure of self-government and the formation of self-government bodies. The system will be based on the traditional institution of the student faculty group leader. The heads of all the groups in a given year will elect year councils; the chairman of these councils will election departmental councils; and the chairmen of departmental councils will elect the institute self-government council. Thus, in order to be elected to any self-government body, one has to be accepted by one's own group first of all.

Only one question remains to be asked. Are there forces in our schools prepared to assist students in creating a powerful system of representation, and in the course of time, once political emotions have subsided, will it be possible to revive discussion on the need for a true joint-administration of our higher schools with the participation of students?

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CSO: 2600/111

POLAND

EDITOR MORAWSKI ON CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ASSOCIATION

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 31 Aug-1 Sep 85 p 2

[Interview by a PAP reporter; date and place not specified]

[Text] The biographical directory "Who's Who in Poland-1984" indicates: Kazimierz Morawski, journalist, government activists; born 6 June 1929, Mala Wies; education: Academy of Political Science, Warsaw; Legal-Economics Department, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan. . . , co-founder, Christian Social Association, chairman of the board of ChSS, 1974; editor in chief of ZA I PRZECIW, 1978; member of the State Council 1982. . . , Sejm delegate 1976.

[Question] How is the ChSS distinguishable from other religious organizations?]

[Answer] Our association, K. Morawski responded to the PAP journalist's question, is a social movement of lay Christians of various religions. Of course Catholics make up the largest group of our members, but alongside them in the ranks of the ChSS there are also Orthodox Christians, Protestants and lay people of other Christian religions in Poland. We are therefore a movement that attaches particular importance to ecumenism, religious as well as social. Building cooperation in diversity. This has a profound meaning in social categories. As a pan-Christian organization, in our social activity we reach for the experiences, the study of the traditions of various trends of Polish Christianity, especially those values that stress a sense of social service, tolerance, respect for differences, good citizenship, thinking in national terms. These are values that are particularly important today for our social life, requiring fortification and intensification.

We have about 16,000 members centered in branches that operate in a majority of the provinces. We have publications such as the illustrated weekly ZA I PRZECIW, TYGODNIK POLSKI and several monthlies, including HEJNAL MARIACKI, directed mainly at Poles abroad, or STUDIA I DOKUMENTY EKUMENICZNE, devoted to dialogue among Christian churches in our country.

[Question] In many of these publications, basic questions are raised, i.e., the importance of church-state relations in social integration.

[Answer] Our association, from the time it was established in 1957, has been and still is intensely interested in influence on behalf of good relations between the state and church and in having a part in eliminating anything that could hinder those relations. We feel that the ChSS is instrumental in creating a broad social base for the process of understanding and cooperation between the state and church. It must be stressed that the majority of believers in Poland, lay people as well as the clergy, want these relations to be good, want the dialogue between church and state to develop productively and want the issues that have so far been controversial to be resolved in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, respect and tolerance. To create an atmosphere in which the good of the church and the good of the people's state would not be contradictory values. We feel that the nationwide tasks facing Poles today are too great and too full of responsibility to expend our energy and concentrate our attention on that which divides rather than unites. There is, after all, more that unites us than divides us.

[Question] In what areas specifically is this cooperation?

[Answer] There are many such areas. For instance, issues concerning the nation's health, social services, the family, shaping professional and work ethics, education in the spirit of moral and civic principles, of fighting so-called social pathology. I would like to emphasize that there is also a plane of cooperation -- important from a national and governmental standpoint -- on the basis of executing Polish foreign policy: the struggle against threats to the peace of Poland, Europe and the world.

[Question] Can a Christian, as you see it, not participate in the country's public life?

[Answer] That would be contrary to Christian responsibilities, not to mention incompatible with a civic, patriotic attitude. Action, creative presence, not social absence, is a fundamental matter in Christian conduct. It must be strongly emphasized that in accordance with the church's social recommendations -- which Pope John Paul II stressed during his African trip -- social service and work on behalf of the common national good is simply a Christian duty. It is a denial of the attitude of negativism, passivity and indifference. Our task therefore is to shape the creative presence and activity of Christians within the reality of socialist Poland.

[Question] How does this relate to the principle of apoliticism propounded by the church?

[Answer] They are two different things. As an association we operate on our own responsibility, wanting to remain in contact with our bishops. We have our own program, formed on the basis of a current appraisal of the social needs of the country and our government. Christian values make up the foundation of our ideological identity. We want to serve them in public life by bearing witness to Christian presence and activity for the common good. We are in favor of the separation of religion and politics. The church does not become involved in specific governmental solutions, appraising public from the viewpoint of the principles of Christian morality. It does not participate in current politics.

Its mission is the propagation of the faith. Participation in socio-political life and work on the creation of mechanisms of public life that best suit the developmental processes of the country and state, that protect its peace and independent existence are matters for secular social activists.

[Question] Your position signifies acceptance of Poland's present governmental structures.

[Answer] Yes. From the start of our existence, we have declared ourselves in favor of the socialist development of Poland, in favor of everything within the limits of socialism that broadens man's freedom, that guarantees law and order, religious freedom and freedom of thought and speech. We feel that the realization of the ideals of social justice through participation in attainment of a new social system and its creative advancement constitutes a practical opportunity for carrying out the evangelical commandments of love and neighbor and the principles of Christian humanism. We feel further that only Christianity that is consistently and constructively present in the socialist reality of Poland, Christianity that goes to meet the development needs of the nation and state, is fundamentally conducive to shaping new experiences and the social and cultural solutions resulting from them within the limits of our system.

[Question] In a Sejm speech 5 years ago you suggested broadening the social base of government as one of the remedial measures against possible repetition of past errors. From this perspective, do you feel this suggestion has been carried out?

[Answer] In this realm much has changed for the better. Within the bounds of the process of democratic reforms consistently executed through political management with Gen W. Jaruzelski at the head, the role of those with no party affiliation, including our movement, has grown significantly. This process is constantly developing, moving forward. The emergence and program of the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal, of which we are one of the signatories, is an expression of this. This is a matter of great importance, creating an opportunity for ever broader participation by people of different viewpoints and different philosophical orientations in the process of government in our country. The point is to make good use of this opportunity. I can say that in the last elections to the national councils, we tripled the participation of our members on the councils. Representatives of Catholic and Christian groups entered various branches of the government, from the highest to the lowest. We reckon that there will be more than five ChSS delegates to the Sejm's 9th term.

[Question] I would like to take a personal tack. In the biographical registry I did not find information about family. . . .

[Answer] I have four children and seven grandchildren, which doubtless explains the lack of information about my hobbies. My professional and public work and family life simply fill my time almost totally.

Kazimierz Morawski has been proposed to the National Electoral Convention by the national council of the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal for the national electoral rolls.

12776

CSO: 2600/24

POLAND

ZSL ANNIVERSARY MEETING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Sep 85 p 5

[Article by (PAP): "Ninety Years of the National Movement: A ceremonial Plenum of the United Peasants' Party's Provincial Committee in Jelenia Gora"]

[Text] A ceremonial plenum of the Provincial Committee of the United Peasants' Party took place on 5 September in Jelenia Gora in connection with the 90th anniversary of the emergence of an organized national movement. Veterans of the movement, political activists, and military colonists, who are administering the acquired territories, participated in this plenum.

The provincial element of the United Peasants' Party was presented a standard donated by the party's members and those organizations which work closely with it.

Deputy premier Roman Malinowski, who is the chairman of the party's Main Committee and who participated in the plenary deliberations, made references to the history of the national movement in his speech. He went on to say: "We reach out to our traditions, knowing how useful and valuable they are in bringing our common home to order."

He spoke of the role of the peasants in the defense of Poland against invaders and their contribution to the building of a People's Poland. He emphasized that a third generation already was working in the western and northern territories for the benefit of the socialist fatherland, the guarantee for which is the strength of the workers' and peasants' alliance. R. Malinowski further amplified that Wincent Wistos' words on the need to work hard in the present situation were particularly appropriate.

The plenum's participants passed a resolution calling on all party members to participate actively in the elections for the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic.

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POLAND

SD CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Sep 85 p 2

[Article by (PAP): "Deliberations of the Central Committee Presidium of the Democratic Party"]

[Text] The Central Committee presidium of the Democratic Party discussed on 6 September issues associated with the current course of the election campaign for the Sejm. Speakers emphasized that pre-election meetings had been conducted in a frank manner and feeling of public concern for the country's future. Meetings with the prospective candidates for the seats in the Sejm demonstrated great public interest and a lively and frank discussion of both local, as well as national problems. Suggestions and motions were voiced which required penetrating analysis, particularly on the part of local government.

The voters enthusiastically referred to the contents of an election declaration of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. People also discussed the Democratic Party's tasks in the next phase of the election campaign.

Together with the presidia of the Democratic Party's provincial committees, the Central Committee Presidium of the Democratic Party nominated party candidates for the seats. These candidates will compete for votes in district elections.

The presidium discussed current organizational issues. To replace the Bureau of Ideology, Press and Propaganda, a Bureau of Press and Propaganda was appointed. Kazimierz Polarczyk was appointed director of the Bureau of Ideology, and Andrzej Olszewski was appointed director of the Bureau of Press and Propaganda. The presidium also appointed Andrzej Chabin as the director of the Public Office of the Democratic Party's Central Committee.

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POLAND

BOOK PUBLISHING POLICY 1986-1990 SET

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Sep 85 p 5

[Article by (tm): "The Publishing Policy: Results of Book Production in the First Six Months of 1985"]

[Text] The Board of the National Publishers of the Council of Culture evaluated on 5 September the draft of the "Provisions for the State Publishing Policy for the 1986-1990 Time Frame."

A discussion of the draft of this document has been ongoing for several months in those centers of the Ministry of Culture and Art associated with the production and dissemination of books. The point here is that this program should be ambitious, in that it takes into account social requirements, but realistic as well. After the discussion, the Board decided to support the plan for developing the "Provisions of a Publishing Policy" as an expression of the state's intentions and unified position of all centers and institutions associated with the publication of books. Unrealistic goals, however, cannot be set.

The upcoming 5-year period will not totally satisfy readers' needs, even though the issue of book accessibility has become the basic aim of the policy's impact. The Board recommended a provision to increase efforts to improve the production conditions of books and the quality of this production. The Typography Development Program provides hope for an improvement of this situation. The program is supposed to be the subject of governmental decisions in the next few days.

In the meantime, the production results of the first 6 months of this year are not particularly bright. The plan called for the production of 215 to 225 million books. In fact, however, only 112 million books were printed during this time period (50.4 percent of the year's plan); few titles, however, (48.3 percent of the plan) were published.

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CSO: 2600/3

POLAND

AGRICULTURAL FOUNDATION COMMITTEE MEETS

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 27 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] On 18 October 1985, the Primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp received the Organizational Committee of the Agricultural Foundation. Committee members informed the Primate of the current state of organizational work on the Agricultural Foundation and on the talks held abroad with church, civil and public circles on obtaining funds for the foundation.

At the same time the committee informed the Primate that on 16 October the government canceled the meeting with foundation representatives jointly set for 17 October, and evaded setting another date. The meeting was to be devoted to the principles of tax concessions and the statutes of the foundation were to be agreed on. The committee members emphasized that the hard-currency funds secured for pilot projects in 1985 may be lost if the Agricultural Foundation fails to begin work before the end of the year.

Regret was expressed at the delays in negotiations with government representatives on establishing the Agricultural Foundation, recalling that the initiative was founded on the idea of constructive cooperation between the church and state in solving a significant problem of promoting the growth of villages and private farms, thus improving the food situation of the nation.

Hence the committee members presented to the Primate the problem of the advisability of further activities, and the Primate decided to examine the matter at a later date.

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CSO: 2020/33

POLAND

PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDARS

Calendar for 16-29 September 85

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 21, 9 Oct 85 p 21

[Text] Central Committee Politburo Meetings

17 September. The Politburo:

-- learned about the course of public consultative meetings comprising the first phase of the Sejm elections campaign;

-- received information about the state of preparations for participation by our nation's representatives in the 40th anniversary session of the United Nations General Assembly as well as about the course and results of public consultation on the contents of General Jaruzelski's speech at this session;

--discussed the state of preparations for the next plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee to be dedicated to key problems of national education;

-- became acquainted with information about work on the draft for a bill on improving conditions and encouraging active youth participation in the social, political, economical and cultural life of the nation.

Conferences and Meetings

16 September. Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk took part in a ceremony to present state awards to a group of journalists and employees of the Contemporary Publishing House. Also present were Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and the chairman of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Worker's Publishing Cooperative, Wieslaw Rydygier.

16-17 September. A conference of the directors of academic sociological and political science establishments was held in Warsaw. Participants to this conference met with Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

18 September. In connection with the inauguration of the third edition of the sub-diploma "Studies on the USSR and Polish-Soviet Relations", Politburo

Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek met representatives of the chief directorate of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship, the Polish Academy of Sciences and the study program.

19 September. First Secretary of the Central Committee and Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski received a visit from the vice-chairman of the PRON National Council, Jerzy Ozdowski, on the occasion of his 60th birthday. W. Jaruzelski expressed to him his sincere recognition and best wishes for further success in work and personal success.

The Central Committee Commission on Representative and Self-Management Organs met in an outgoing session in Bialystok where it assessed the work of young advisors to the provincial people's councils. The conference was led by Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

A ceremony was held in Warsaw for the presentation of TRYBUNA LUDU's yearly individual and group awards. There were 24 group and individual awards presented. Taking part in the ceremony were Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk, the Central Committee department directors Bogdan Jachacz and Witold Nawrocki and Deputy Director of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army General Leslaw Wojtasik.

20 September. The Central Committee Commission on Law and Rule of Law discussed its schedule for the realization of activities in the program of legal and state education and the results of the IR-Ch [expansion unknown] national monitoring of the correctness of housing allotments in the first half of this year. The conference was led by Deputy Politburo Member and Minister of Internal Affairs Gen of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak.

21 September. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, a Sejm candidate from the PRON national list, took part in a pre-elections meeting with employees of the Poznan district's State Automotive Enterprise.

22 September. As part of the observance of the 90th anniversary of the people's movement in Warsaw, a ceremony was held to dedicate a monument to Wincenty Witos. Representing the PZPR at this ceremony was Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski.

23 September. There was a meeting of the chairmen of provincial review commissions. The activity of these commissions in the first half of the year was evaluated and plans for the remainder of this year were discussed. The conference was led by the chairman of the Central Review Commission, Kazimierz Morawski.

Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski received a visit from the politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party and chairman of that country's national council on production cooperatives, Istvan Szabo.

Deputy Politburo Member Marian Orzechowski conducted a meeting of the team for "Realization of a program on historical education". There were discussed ways of modifying programs of historical education and the state of textbooks used to teach recent history.

24 September. A meeting of delegations from Afghanistan, Laos and Vietnam participating in the ceremonies observing the 90th anniversary of the people's movement was held at the Central Committee headquarters. The director of the Central Committee Agricultural Department, Stefan Zawodzinski, informed the guests about the realization of agricultural policy and the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress.

27 September. There was a conference of the Central Party Control Commission presidium was held under the direction of Jerzy Urbanski. The conference familiarized itself with the results of conversations between interested departments of the Central Committee, the directors of the Commission and some party members from the managerial cadre of several ministries and central institutions which were based on material provided by the Supreme Chamber of Control.

29 September. Chairman of the Council of Ministers Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski returned to Poland. He had been leading a Polish delegation in ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the United Nations General Assembly on 27 September. W. Jaruzelski read a speech there which was broadcast over Polish television and radio. His speech was met with great acclaim in Poland and throughout the world. During his stay in New York, W. Jaruzelski held many conversations with heads of state and foreign affairs ministers participating in the special UN session. He also met with press representatives and members of the Polish-American community.

In Party Instances and Organizations

16 September. A member of the Politburo and Sejm candidate, Warsaw PZPR Committee First Secretary Marian Wozniak took part in a pre-elections meeting with employees of various scientific research institutes in Warsaw.

18 September. Politburo Member Stanislaw Kalkus took part in the provincial inauguration of the party training year in Wegrowo (Sieradz province).

19 September. The Woman's Commission of the Krosno Provincial PZPR Committee met at the Krosno Glass Works to discuss ways of improving the conditions of working people. Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb participated in this meeting.

20 September. In Radom, ceremonies were held to award the city the First-Class Medal of the Standard of Labor. Present were the Politburo members: Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski and Zofia Grzyb.

21 September. Ceremonies were held to award the cities of Wrzesnia and Sochaczewo with the Grunwald Cross in recognition for their service to citizens in the struggle with the German invaders. Politburo Member Stanislaw Kalkus took part in this ceremony.

20-22 September. In Uniejowo in Konin province, there was a national conference of the aktiv of the Polish Student Association. Politburo Member and Chairman of the Central Committee Youth Commission Tadeusz Czechowicz met with conference participants.

22 September. Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski met in Bierutowice with participants to a regional conference of political science lecturers representing schools in Warsaw, Wroclaw, Lodz, Lublin and Zielona Gora.

25 September. Politburo Member and Vice-Premier Zbigniew Messner, a Sejm candidate on the PRON national list, took part in a pre-elections meeting at the M. Kasprzak Radio Factory with representatives of Warsaw industry.

Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski took part in ceremonies awarding the Glogow Construction Enterprise the Second-Class Labor Standard Medal.

26 September. Ceremonies to inaugurate the new party training year were held in the following provincial organizations:

-- in Tarnobrzeg with Politburo Member Albin Siwak;

-- in Gdansk, as a meeting in the Ship Repair Yards with Deputy Politburo Member and Provincial PZPR Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Bejger;

-- in Bydgoszcz with Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski;

-- in Ciechanow province at a meeting in Mlawa with Chairman of the Central Party Control Commission Jerzy Urbanski;

-- in Krakow with the director of the Central Committee Ideological Department, Wladyslaw Loranc;

-- in Radom with Antoni Gorny, director of the Central Committee Department of Intraparty Management.

27 September. The new party training year was inaugurated:

-- in Tarnow with Politburo Member and Provincial PZPR Committee First Secretary Stanislaw Opalko;

-- in Przemysl with Politburo Member Hieronim Kubiak;

-- in Szczecinek, Koszalin province, with Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski;

-- in Gorzow with Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb;

-- in Swidnica, Walbrzych province, with Deputy Politburo Member and Rector of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences Marian Orzechowski as well as in Bialystok.

The following Sejm candidates from the PRON national list took part in subsequent meetings with voters: Tadeusz Porebski in Legnica, Marian Wozniak in Blon (near Warsaw), General of arms Czeslaw Kiszczak in Nowy Sacz and Kazimierz Morawski in Slupsk.

28 September. Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member, Central Committee secretary and a Sejm candidate on the PRON national list, met with voters in Walbrzych.

Interparty Cooperation

20 September. Politburo Member and Vice-Premier Zbigniew Messner concluded a working visit to Hungary where he was received by Karoly Nemeth, deputy secretary general of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's party. He also met with members of that party's politburo, Vice-Premier Laszlo Marothy and First Secretary of the Budapest Municipal Party Committee Karoly Grosz.

21-24 September. Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, paid an official friendship visit to Cuba. He was accompanied by Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs, Zenon Komender, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Division General Michal Janiszewski, chief the bureau of the Council of Ministers, Boguslaw Kolodziejczak, director of the chancellery of the Central Committee Secretariat, Wlodzimierz Natorf, director of the Central Committee Foreign Affairs Department, Tadeusz Nestorowicz, foreign trade minister, Stanislaw Dlugosz, minister and deputy chairman of the Planning Commission and Czeslaw Dega, Polish ambassador in Havana. During the visit, W. Jaruzelski and F. Castro signed a program on long-term cooperation, specialization and socialist economic integration between Poland and Cuba until the year 2000.

Director of the Central Committee Sejm Affairs Bureau Edward Szymanski and Chief of the Chancellery of the Sejm Kazimierz Switala were on a working study visit to Budapest. The Polish guests were received by a member of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian National Assembly, Istvan Sarlos.

A Central Committee delegation under Marek Holdakowski, director of the Central Committee Economic Department, was in Hungary.

24 September. The chairman of the Polish Central Committee delegation, Marek Holdakowski, was received by a politburo member and Hungarian party central committee secretary, Ferenc Havagi.

25-27 September. The latest meeting of the PZPR-SPD [Socialist Party of Germany] working group on means of building mutual trust was held in Warsaw. The vice-chairman of the SPD faction and head of the West German working

group, Horst Ehmke, was received by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski.

Calendar for 30 September - 9 October 85

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 22, 23 Oct 85 p 21

[Text] Meetings of the Central Committee Politburo

3 October. The Politburo:

-- reviewed information on the participation of women in political and social life and their situation in life;

-- again evaluated the embodiment of the 16th Central Committee Plenum's decrees on the problems of the working class. It also assessed the state of preparations of industry for work in the fall and winter period and in particular the system for produce storage and the supplying of work crews with potatoes, fruits and vegetables;

-- acquainted itself with government information on actions taken to improve the supply of coal to rural areas;

-- reviewed and approved a report from the official friendship visit to the Republic of Cuba by Central Committee First Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski;

-- also received and approved a report on the visit of a government delegation under Premier W. Jaruzelski to the 40th anniversary session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Conferences and Meetings

30 September. The Central Committee Intraparty Commission examined the degree of realization of recommendations made to the Central Committee after the 9th Congress and during the latest reports campaign in the party. The meeting was chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski. Also present were Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Włodzimierz Mokrzyński, Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski and Director of the Political Organization Department Kazimierz Cypryński.

The Central Committee Culture Commission discussed a long-term program for the promotion of culture in Poland. The conference was led by Politburo Member Hieronim Kubiak. Also present were Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon, Vice-Premier Mieczysław F. Rakowski and Director of the Central Committee Culture Department Witold Nawrocki.

The inauguration of the academic year was held in the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences. The ceremonies were opened by Rector Marian Orzechowski. Also present were Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Józef Czyrek,

Chairman of the Central Review Commission Kazimierz Morawski and Director of the Central Committee Cadre Department Wladyslaw Honkisz.

On the occasion of his 80th birthday, the meritorious worker's movement activist Eugeniusz Stawinski was received by the chairman of the Central Review Commission, Kazimierz Morawski, and the chairman of the Central Committee's section on meritorious worker's movement activists, Wladyslaw Honkisz.

2 October. Representatives of PRON signatories met in Warsaw to discuss a program of action aimed at preserving world peace. The meeting was led by Vice-Chairman of the PRON National Council, Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk received a delegation from the NSPJ [expansion unknown] Central Committee Zentrag Publications and Printing Enterprise under the general director, Werner Wuerzberger.

3 October. The central inauguration of the party training year was held at the Ursus Machinery Works in Warsaw. Aside from scores of distinguished instructors from different provinces, there were also present other lecturers from the Academy of Social Sciences, the Polish Army and the Central Committee. Also participating in the ceremonies were Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak, Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski, and Director of the Central Committee Ideological Department Wladyslaw Loranc.

First Secretary of the Central Committee, Premier and Chairman of the National Defense Committee Wojciech Jaruzelski received a visit from the supreme commander of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact States, Marshall Viktor Kulikov. Army General and Minister of National Defense Florian Siwicki was also present.

At the Central Committee headquarters was a meeting with the creators of the film "Yesterday" which won the "Golden Conch" grand prize at the San Sebastian festival. Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon congratulated the creators of the film.

4 October. The 19th Central Committee Plenum's Commission on Resolutions and Conclusions held its latest meeting on the intelligentsia. This meeting was chaired by Deputy Politburo Member Marian Orzechowski.

7 October. On the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the creation of the Security Service and the Citizen's Militia, there was a meeting of Central Committee First Secretary and Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski with the service and party aktiv of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. W. Jaruzelski thanked the ministry leadership, all functionaries of the Security Service and Citizen's Militia and the soldiers and employees of the ministry for their conscientious and selfless service in defense of the state and public order.

Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek received a visit from the premier of the national government of Rhine-Palatinate and leading activist of the West German Christian Democrat Party, Bernhard Vogel.

8 October. In connection with National Education Day on 14 October, meritorious pedagogues were invited to Belvedere Palace. They met there with Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski and Central Committee First Secretary and Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski. The honorary title of "Meritorious Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" was received by 91 persons.

9 October. In the Cora Clothing Factory of Warsaw, the last of the pre-elections meetings was held. Sejm candidates from the PRON national list met with representatives of the Warsaw professional and social community. Central Committee First Secretary Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski gave a speech, extensive portions of which have been published on pages 3 and 4 of this issue.

The Central Committee International Commission learned about the course of a visit by a Polish state and party delegation to Cuba and the participation of a Polish delegation under Chairman of the Council of Ministers Wojciech Jaruzelski i the 40th anniversary session of the United Nations General Assembly. The chairman of this meeting, Politburo Member and Foreign Affairs Minister Stefan Olszowski, also presented the results of his conversations in New York with the foreign affairs ministers of a series of countries.

At the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences, there was a meeting with the ambassador of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, O Man Sok, in connection with the 40th anniversary of the Labor Party of Korea. The Korean ambassador received a visit from Politburo Member and Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences Marian Orzechowski.

In Party Instances and Organizations

30 September. Central Committee First Secretary and Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski took part in the inauguration of the academic year in the newly-established Szczecin University. Also present was Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski.

In Szczecin, Central Committee First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski took part in a meeting with members of the Executive Board of the Szczecin Provincial PZPR Committee and the province's social and political aktiv as well as with Sejm candidates. Also present at this meeting was Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski.

The Konin Provincial PZPR Committee discussed that province's social and economic plan for 1986-1990.

1 October. On the occasion of the coming Polish Army Day, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Premier and Commander of the Polish Armed Forces General Wojciech Jaruzelski visited the soldiers of the Szczecin garrison. Present were Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, Deputy Politburo Member and National Defense Minister Florian

Siwicki, Vice-Minister of National Defense and Director of the Polish Army Chief Political Directorate, General of Arms Jozef Baryla and First Secretary of the Szczecin Provincial PZPR Committee Stanislaw Miskiewicz.

Deputy Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk took part in a meeting of the political aktiv of Wroclaw province which was dedicated to discussion of the problems of ideological work by the party.

Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon took part in the opening of training activities of the center for cadre training of the amateur artistic movement in Lucznica, Siedlce province.

Central Committee Cadre Policy Department Director Wladyslaw Honkisz and Foreign Affairs Department Director Wlodzimierz Natorf were at a meeting of the directors of the Foreign Trade Ministry dedicated to realization of cadre policy.

The following politburo members and central committee secretaries in inaugural ceremonies for the academic year at the following schools: Stanislaw Opalko at the Higher Pedagogical School in Krakow, Marian Wozniak at the Central School of Agriculture and the Academy of Agriculture in Warsaw, Zbigniew Messner at the SPGiS [expansion unknown] in Warsaw, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak at the Technical and Agricultural Academy in Olsztyn, Stanislaw Kalkus at the Higher School of Engineering in Jelenia Gora, Stanislaw Bejger at Gdansk University, Jan Glowczyk at Wroclaw University and Wroclaw Polytechnical Institute and Marian Orzechowski at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan.

2 October. The following politburo members and central committee secretaries took part in ceremonies inaugurating the new academic year: Jozef Czyrek at Warsaw University, Tadeusz Czechowicz at Lodz Polytechnical Institute, Albin Siwak at Rzeszow Polytechnical Institute, Jerzy Romanik at Silesian University and the Economics Academy in Katowice, Hieronim Kubiak at the Medical Academy in Krakow and Florian Siwicki at the Military Political Academy.

The chairman of the Central Review Commission, Kazimierz Morawski, participated in the inaugural ceremonies at the Economics Academy in Krakow.

4 October. The national inauguration of "Young Voter's Week" was held in Tarnow with over 700 young voters. There was a meeting with young Sejm candidates and voters by Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Tarnow Provincial PZPR Committee Stanislaw Opalko and the director of the Central Committee Youth Department, Leszek Miller.

7 October. A Sejm candidate, Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, took part in the latest meeting with voters in Szczecin.

Politburo Member Albin Siwak participated in an open party meeting of the plant PZPR organization at Energomontaz Polnoc.

A young voter's forum was held in Chelm with the participation of the district list's Sejm candidates. Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon was present at this meeting.

9 October. Politburo Member Albin Siwak participated in an open party meeting in the Warsaw Stone Construction Factory.

12261

CSO: 2600/78

POLAND

BRIEFS

SLUPSK CRIME RATE DOWN--At the Slupsk Voivodship prosecutor's office a news conference was held today. During three-quarters of this year in Slupsk Voivodship, the number of crimes decreased by more than 10 percent, especially murders, rapes, fights, muggings and burglaries. The decline in the crime rate is the result of the stabilization of the socio-political situation, the growth in the rate of detection of offenders, and the tightening of penal repression. Implementing the law on special penal responsibility since 1 July, 108 perpetrators of hooligan excesses, theft, and illegal alcohol production have been sentenced under accelerated procedure. [Text] [Koszalin Domestic Service in Polish 1605 GMT 17 Oct 85 LD] /6662

SOCIALIST WRITERS' CONFERENCE--The participants in the 21st conference of writers from socialist states met in the House of Literature with representatives from Polish and foreign press. Halina Auderska, chairman of the Polish Writers' Union, reported that the deliberations had been fruitful, yielding much material for further consideration. Thanks to the exchange of experiences, we have been able to define the tasks currently facing writers and their organizations, Halina Auderska said. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 18 Oct 85 LD] /6662

UK COMMISSION MEETS--During 14-17 October in Warsaw, the next successive meeting of the subcommittee for educational and technological affairs, operating within the framework of the Polish-British mixed commission was held. The present state of cooperation was discussed and assessed and the growth in interest regarding future development of educational-technological cooperation as an element of the promotion of economic and trade exchange, was pointed out. The Polish side presented to its British partners a thematic aggregate of proposed cooperation in chosen spheres, and thematic proposals for the export of the achievements of Polish educational and technological thought. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 18 Oct 85 LD] /6662

ELECTION PROTESTS FILED--Warsaw, Oct 29--Replying to a straight question from the main public opinion polling centre as to whether Poland's social and political system is good, 23.7 percent of the population said it is, 27 percent decided the system is good in its principles, and 5 percent said that

it is bad and should be changed, Polish Government Spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban told his weekly news conference for foreign correspondents today. Replying to further questions, the government spokesman Jerzy Urban disclosed that there have been 11 protests filed so far in connection with election to the Sejm. As protests can be filed within seven days since the election day, no further protests are expected. After a thorough examination, the protests will be reviewed [words indistinct], he said. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1434 GMT 29 Oct 85 LD] /6662

NEW LIMITS ON CZECH KORUNA PURCHASES--The Polish National Bank has announced that beginning on 2 September 1985 the following rules and standards will be in force for selling Czech korunas to people leaving for Czechoslovakia for private purposes: For organized and therapeutic trips--80 korunas per person per day to a maximum of 1,000 korunas; for individual trips (by invitation) --80 korunas per person per day to a maximum of 1,000 korunas and in border traffic--250 korunas per person every 90 days. For all kinds of trips, to the end of this year, korunas may be purchased to a maximum of 1,000 korunas per person based on the number of days' stay in Czechoslovakia and on the above daily rates of spending money. Children up to age 7 are entitled to half of the above limits and values. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Sep 85 p 4] 12776

CSO: 2600/24

ROMANIA

DEVELOPMENT OF 'SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM' REVIEWED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 17, 15 Sep 85 pp 17-20

[Article by University Professor Dr. Aurelian Cosmatchi and University Lecturer Dr. Calin Vilsan: "Scientific Socialism--the Revolutionary theory of the Workers Class, and the Contribution of the RCP and Its Secretary General, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the Creative Development of the Theory and Practice of Building Socialism in Our Country and to the Enrichment of Contemporary Revolutionary Thinking"]

[Text] In fulfilling its historic mission of leading our people along the path of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and propelling our country toward communism, the RCP is consistently guided by the revolutionary concept of the workers class: dialectical and historical materialism and the principles of scientific socialism. Proceeding from the requirements of the general laws of social development and from specific historical and national realities, our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have made and continue making an original contribution to the creative implementation and development of scientific socialism and to enriching the contemporary revolutionary thinking. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized in his report to the 13th party congress, "we must continuously develop and enrich our revolutionary outlook of the world and life and our ideological activities. Our achievements to date and what we now know provide the basis for further understanding and development of the theory and concept of life and of the world."

The Historical Conditions and Theoretical Premises of the Emergence of Scientific Socialism. The Fundamental Principles of Scientific Socialism

Scientific socialism--the science of the revolutionary transformation of the world--was elaborated in the middle of the past century within the general birth process of the revolutionary theory, as one of the latter's component elements, alongside dialectical and historical materialism and the Marxist political economy. The emergence of socialism as a scientific theory was the outcome of the accumulation of certain social and historical factors, such as: the development of capitalist production and social relations, the numerical increase in and the beginning of the organization and assertion of the proletariat as an independent class, and the establishment of certain scientific and theoretical premises.

A large volume of social knowledge had been accumulated toward the middle of the 19th century. Historical research had come closer to understanding the division of society into classes and to realizing the importance of the struggle between those classes. The major representatives of utopian socialism --Saint Simon, Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen--incisively criticized the capitalist system, unveiled the role of the capitalist state in perpetuating man's exploitation by man, and highlighted the existence of intensive contradictions in the bourgeois society, at the same time outlining the need for a just society, based on economic and political equality among people. Some of those great socialist thinkers attempted to implement their theories of communism. In our country, Theodor Diamant tried to materialize the ideas of utopian socialism by organizing the Sciaeni Falanster (Prahova County).

The utopian socialists had their historical limitations, determined by the general level of human knowledge of the time, by the insufficient development of capitalism, and by the still low level of consciousness and organization of the proletariat. Consequently, they failed to understand that replacing capitalism by a socialist system was an objective requirement that would be accomplished through revolutionary means; in particular, they did not understand the historic role of the proletariat in the transition to a new and superior social system. At the same time, utopian socialism viewed the establishment of communism merely as the embodiment of man's higher aspirations and of reason, and not as primarily a requirements of historical progress imposed by objective laws.

Scientific socialism is the social-political outcome of the revolution achieved by Marxism in thinking. Marx and Engels revealed the historical character of the capitalist system and the law governing its inevitable disappearance, and demonstrated the objective need for a socialist revolution, for raising society to a higher level of progress and civilization--the communist society--highlighted the historic role of the proletariat as the main, consistently revolutionary social force capable of eliminating the capitalist system and of establishing the socialist system, emphasized the need to organize the proletariat in a political party and to seize the state power, and so forth.

A great historic contribution to the creative development of the revolutionary theory and scientific socialism, in the new historical conditions prevailing at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, of the accomplishment of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the beginning of building socialism in that country, was made by Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the founder and leader of the CPSU and of the Soviet state. Boldly discarding the theses that no longer fitted the new realities, Lenin stressed that the revolutionaries of the world must not cling to the letter of Marxism if they do not want to be left behind by life, and that the attitude toward the revolutionary theory requires the creative application of general truths to specific historical, social, and national conditions.

The continuous development of scientific socialism was effected by the parties of the workers class, the revolutionary activists, and the Marxist thinkers in various countries of the world. In Romania, the theory of scientific socialism was intensively asserted in the later decades of the past century. Significant

along this line was the publication of the Program "What Do the Romanian Socialists Want?" authored in 1886 by Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea. In 1888 F. Engels wrote to Ioan Nadejde: "I noticed with great satisfaction that the Romanian socialists endorse in their program the guiding principles of the theory that has succeeded in rallying almost all the European and American socialists within one group; I am referring to the theory of my friend, the late Marx."

The establishment in 1893 of the Social-Democratic Party of the Romanian Workers--the first party of the workers class in our country--paved the way for the political organization of the workers class at national level and led to the strong assertion of its role as the most progressive social force in the development of our nation along the path of progress and civilization.

The establishment of the RCP marked a new and qualitatively superior stage in the assertion of the revolutionary concept of scientific socialism in Romania, and was a historic moment of a particular importance for the revolutionary movement in our country and for the organizing the struggle of the workers class and of the broad masses. Leading the people's struggle against exploitation and oppression, the RCP succeeded--through its principled political line and through all its revolutionary activities--to provide appropriate answers to the major problems confronting our country at that time, thus ensuring the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation of August 1944, which marked the beginning of a new era in the history of our country and in the process of the struggle for rejuvenating and radical changes in Romanian society.

The Objective Need to Creatively Develop the Theory of Scientific Socialism

In our times, the revolutionary theory and scientific socialism have turned, as our party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stated, "from the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement," into "the science of the revolutionary transformation of the world." Thus, scientific socialism constitutes not only an explicative theory, but also and primarily a means of implementing in practice the ideals of the workers class and of revolutionary and progressive forces. It constitutes a powerful tool in the hands of revolutionary parties in the struggle to build a new social system, and an instrument for studying and applying universally valid truths to the specific conditions prevailing in each country and at each stage of historical development.

Scientific socialism is a theoretically open system, a live science, which is permanently being enriched by new theses and conclusions summing up historical experience and the conclusions of social development; it is a profoundly revolutionary theory opposed to stagnation and to rigid thinking.

The founders of scientific socialism viewed their theory as a guide in action; they repeatedly stated that it constitutes only a point of departure that must be continuously developed and perfected in the light of new realities and socioeconomic requirements, and of new scientific discoveries and human knowledge. As new data and facts were gathered, as their own knowledge expanded, and as revolutionary experience increased, whenever it was necessary

they added specifications, elaborated on, or even eliminated some of their previous theses. Thus, the need to creatively develop scientific socialism involves receptivity toward what is new, struggle against dogmatism and conservatism, and against ossified thinking, and permanent confrontation with life, so that changes occurring in the world can be reflected in theory.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated at the plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the central party aktiv of July 1985, "all our activities must be based on materialist and historical dialectics and scientific socialism, which is the revolutionary concept of life and the world. However, we must always proceed from the fact that the process of development of these social sciences, like that of any science, has not been closed, and that we must continuously expand the process of understanding and discovering always new secrets of nature and of the universe, of social and human knowledge, and develop the revolutionary concept of life and the world, too."

In implementing the general and universally valid principles of scientific socialism one must continually keep in mind the specific historical conditions prevailing in each country. Scientific socialism is not a recipe or a universal model, but a collection of concepts and ideas forming one of the tools required to understand specific sociopolitical national and general processes, and thus to map out and implement a policy suited to the respective historical situation and to concrete realities.

The creative implementation and development of scientific socialism constitute a right and, at the same time, an obligation for each revolutionary party. The endeavors of communist parties in various countries to resolve the specific problems of their countries in accordance with the objective laws of social development, through ways and means appropriate to the actual historical conditions of their respective countries, are totally legitimate. Each revolutionary party, regardless of its size or age, can make a valuable contribution, in some area, to developing the revolutionary theory and practice and to enriching the contemporary social thinking. Scientific socialism develops and is enriched by assimilating the practical experience and theoretical contributions of communist and workers parties, of other revolutionary and progressive parties and forces, and of new science and progressive social thinking, through resolute struggle against conservative and reactionary sociopolitical currents and theories, against bourgeois ideologies, and against imperialist and anticommunist propaganda.

The Party Program, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Work--A Brilliant Expression of the Capability of our Party and of its Secretary General to Creatively Apply the General Truths of Scientific Socialism to Romania's Realities

In all its activities our party resolutely proceeds from the materialist-dialectical and historical concept, from the principles of scientific socialism, and from the study and understanding of generally valid laws, and acts to creatively apply them to the realities and conditions prevailing in Romania. Decisively important along this line have been the renovating guidelines established by the ninth congress--which opened up a new era for the development of our socialist society--the resolutions of subsequent party congresses and conferences, and the creative and original thinking and

revolutionary and militant activities of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

At a time when there were insistent efforts in the world to keep socialism in certain shackles, which prevented it from demonstrating its value and capabilities, our party understood that dialectical and historical materialism and scientific socialism are not dogmas, but action sciences used to continuously renovate society and the world and to open up new prospects for perfecting production forces and social relations, and for the world's uninterrupted progress toward new peaks of progress and civilization. The ninth congress, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu described it, "critically analyzed the building of socialism and established guidelines for the future, proceeding from the need to eliminate all deviations and abuses, everything that was old and outdated, dogmatism and set patterns, and antiscientific concepts, and paved the way for continuing and developing the revolutionary spirit and for asserting what is new in all the areas of activity. It thus unfettered the creative energies of the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all the working people, regardless of nationality, and opened up--we may say--a new and free path for revolutionary thinking and action."

In the past 20 years our party and its secretary general have been putting enormous theoretical and practical efforts into developing and perfecting social structures and forms and methods of social interaction, in keeping with the requirements of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's progress toward communism. During these years--the richest in achievements in our country's entire history--the party program was hammered out, issues of an exceptional theoretical and practical importance have been tackled, new and profoundly scientific theses and conclusions have been formulated and proven, and a rejuvenating spirit has been promoted in developing the revolutionary ideology of the workers class. The party program and the other party documents, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical work, constitute the quintessence of creative scientific socialism in the conditions prevailing in our country, and highlight the active contribution made by the RCP and by its secretary general to enriching the universal thesaurus of revolutionary thinking and practice.

An original and very important contribution to enriching scientific socialism and the revolutionary theory and practice was made by the theses authored by our party and by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on the stages of building socialism in Romania and demonstrating the concept of a comprehensively developed socialist society, which define the major objectives and directions of work designed to turn Romania from a developing socialist country into a comprehensively developed socialist country, and the means of progressing toward the increasingly broad assertion of the communist principles of distribution, labor, and life.

At the same time, of a particular basic importance are the noteworthy theoretical contribution made by our party and its secretary general to approaching and elucidating certain issues of a decisive importance for building the new system, such as: the place and role of the nation in socialism; the ways and means of enhancing the leading role of the party; the

scientific organization and leadership of the socialist society; the development and perfecting of workers revolutionary democracy; the stages of development and the functions of the socialist state; the role of production forces in the development of the socialist society; the importance of shaping and developing a socialist consciousness; the place of history in the patriotic and revolutionary education of the working people, etc. In the development of our society, a particular role is played by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept of the socialist revolution as a broad, continual, and uninterrupted process concerning the need to permanently assert a revolutionary and militant spirit in the entire building of the new system.

Among the many issues elucidated through the contribution of our party and its secretary general, several that stand out concern the contents of the contemporary era, the confrontation between the two diametrically opposed tendencies in international life, the principles of relations among the communist and workers parties and among the socialist countries, the nature and requirements of international solidarity in our times, the dialectics of domestic and foreign factors and of the general and particular in revolutionary struggle and in the socialist revolution and construction, and means of ensuring peace and disarmament and of strengthening equal cooperation among all the nations and peoples of the world.

The original contribution of the RCP and its secretary general to developing revolutionary thinking and creatively applying the universal truths of scientific socialism to the specific conditions of our country and to the contemporary era has once again been brilliantly demonstrated in the decisions of the 13th party congress, which has adopted the guidelines for Romania's socioeconomic development in the 1986-90 5-year plan and up to the year 2000. The implementation of the great objectives established by the congress will bring about additional noteworthy achievements in building the socialist system in our country and will raise Romania to higher peaks of progress and civilization, at the same time actively contributing to increasingly asserting the superiority of socialism and enhancing the influence of the ideas of scientific socialism.

The study and understanding of the ideas and theses demonstrated by our party constitute a basic means of raising the political-ideological level of the communists and of all the working people and of developing their progressive and socialist consciousness. This means--as has been proven at the present time--that socialist education must turn the teaching of the party's revolutionary philosophy into an efficient means of continuously raising people's level of thinking, developing their capability to grasp what is new and to act in a revolutionary and renovating spirit. Along this line, the efficiency of educational work is closely linked to best utilizing the wealth of ideas featured in party documents and in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's works, and to the ability to highlight new theoretical theses and the issues that must be resolved at the current stage of development of the Romanian society and our party's contribution to enriching the contemporary revolutionary thinking.

A Revolutionary Spirit as the Expression of the RCP's Scientifically Demonstrated Ideology and Policy

The vast ideological and political activities carried out by our party and its secretary general in a profound dialectical and renovating spirit are brilliantly reflected in the party ideological program issued by the expanded plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982 and adopted by the 13th congress as an inseparable part of the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. Summing up Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's exceptionally important ideas, theses, and guidelines, the ideological program opens up broad prospects for the entire building of the new system, and provides conditions for increasingly asserting a militant and revolutionary spirit and the progressive outlook of life and the world.

As a revolutionary political ideology, scientific socialism is profoundly party-oriented and militant. It approaches social-political phenomena and guides practical and transforming activities in accordance with the laws of progress and with the communist ideals; it expresses on an intellectual plane the interests and aspirations of the workers class and the people's masses, and their struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the society. Along this line, the militant character of scientific socialism is indissolubly linked to the renovating and revolutionary spirit shown in the struggle against everything that no longer fits the new historical stages and the struggle to promote what is new, in the critical attitude adopted toward the reactionary theses of bourgeois ideology, and in knowledgeably unmasking and combating such theses. The revolutionary spirit activates the creative potential of the masses and their conscious and effective participation in the grand work of building a socialist and communist society.

In the views of our party and its secretary general, asserting the revolutionary spirit is a natural consequence of the idea of the continuity of the process of socialist construction. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized at the plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the party central aktiv of last July, "In all the areas we must act in a revolutionary spirit, proceeding from the fact that the process of socioeconomic development has not ended and will never end, and that the role of a revolutionary party is to constantly endeavor to rejuvenate and perfect the society and production and social relations."

Viewed from this perspective, the new system is objectively endowed with an inexhaustible potential to revolutionize all its economic, technical, social, political, and cultural-ideological relations and structures. Romania's current stage of development, scientifically defined in the documents of the 13th party congress, appears as a basically revolutionary work, characterized by profound qualitative changes in all the compartments of the social system, a fact that requires an inexhaustible spirit of revolutionary struggle by the workers class and by all our people. In point of fact, in itself the establishment of the strategic objective of building the comprehensively developed socialist society is conclusive along this line. The major guidelines of this great strategic objective--the modernization and intensive development of the national economy; the achievement of a new agrarian

revolution; the continuous improvement of the leadership and organization of the society; the increasing enhancement of the party's role; the development and expansion of socialist revolutionary democracy; ensuring that the society is led by the people; strengthening and developing our socialist nation; ensuring complete unity of interests and ideals and the complete unity of will and action of all the people; shaping a new man, conscious builder of socialism and communism; implementing the principles of socialist ethics and equity, and so forth--give the changes occurring in our society both an original character and impart to them strong revolutionary and renovating traits.

Similarly revolutionary is the process of realizing the socialist system of values. The establishment of these values, which configure present and future socialism from a political, moral, cultural, and other points of view, and their materialization and conversion into deeds at the level of the human collective constitute a very complex revolutionary process. Also, asserting the socialist humanism and implementing the network of principles and norms defining the humanistic ideal of the new system require efforts over a long period of time, as well as revolutionary spirit, devotion, and endeavors to continuously improve the institutions of the socialist society so that they can function fully in keeping with the new socialist system of values. All this highlights even more strikingly the profoundly revolutionary character of the current stage of development of our society, and the continuity of the revolutionary struggle within the entire process of building socialism and communism.

Along this line, the revolutionary spirit is and must be manifested in practice and in fact through the efforts made to assert a new and higher quality in all the areas of activity, and to establish everywhere a climate of great responsibility and demand for order and discipline. In our party's concept, being a revolutionary means exploring the new paths opened up by socialism and communism, being intransigent toward shortcomings, and resolutely fighting everything that is outdated and boldly promoting everything that is advanced and progressive. At the current stage, the revolutionary spirit has become the major mode of expressing the masses' support for building socialism and their determination to ensure the manysided progress and blossoming of the fatherland. Thus, the revolutionary spirit also incorporates a profoundly humanistic attitude toward and understanding by each person of the bright aim of our people: building communism. From this viewpoint, the revolutionary spirit constitutes a basic mode of being and of manifestation of the progressive and revolutionary socialist consciousness. This is also the origin of the need, repeatedly stressed by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to carry out increasingly more intensive ideological and political-educational activities, designed to encourage, through all possible means, the attitudes and traits of a progressive revolutionary consciousness: the cult of work, developing and defending socialist property, strengthening order and discipline, observing the law and the party-state decisions, working to continuously raise the level of professional competence, honesty, courage, and unassumingness. The new man, possessed of a high revolutionary concept, is at the same time a man shaped in the spirit of love for the fatherland and the party, of responsibility for and attachment to the people and to their revolutionary achievements, and of the

determination to struggle and work to build socialism and communism, to develop the homeland, to defend Romania's independence and sovereignty, and to consolidate solidarity and friendship with the peoples of the socialist countries, with progressive forces everywhere, and with all the nations that want peace, progress, and cooperation.

Criticism of Anticommunist Concepts Concerning the Alleged Crisis of Socialism. Socialism as the Only Path to a Better and More Just World

Asserting the revolutionary spirit requires, simultaneously with resolutely promoting the progressive outlook of life and the world, increased combativeness against retrograde and reactionary phenomena, mentalities, and concepts. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized in his report to the 13th congress, we must not forget that "there are still various alien concepts and mentalities of the old bourgeois-land owners' society, that not all the citizens have definitively broken with past mentalities and practices, and that unfortunately they still influence some of our young people, too. At the same time, we must not forget that all kinds of influences alien to our revolutionary concept of the world and life still penetrate from outside."

Currently, the ideological confrontations between the two life and world outlooks continue to deepen. Moreover, there is a great effervescence in political thinking and understanding, and the bourgeois ideology, being in the midst of a crisis, is diversifying its forms of struggle against the revolutionary concept and is reviving various old, historically compromised and disproved theories, or issuing new reactionary doctrines and orientations.

Thus, we have recently noticed an intensification of the anticommunist campaign against the socialist countries and against socialism in general. Seizing upon certain difficulties and upon events occurring in certain socialist countries, some political circles in the West are talking about a so-called crisis of socialism. Through such theories the anticommunist propaganda tries to denigrate the great achievements attained by the peoples of the socialist countries in building the new system, to disinform the public, and to misrepresent and discredit socialism, with a view to neutralizing the struggle of the workers class, the broad masses, and the progressive forces to eliminate the system based on exploitation and oppression, and to achieve democracy and social progress.

Life and realities reveal the lack of foundation and the falseness of such theses hostile to socialism and to the revolutionary concept of life and the world. The great successes obtained within a short period of time by the Romanian and other peoples in building socialism, eliminating exploitation and oppression, ensuring complete social and national freedom and justice, increasingly asserting the principles and values of the new system, and raising the level of material and cultural civilization of the broad masses clearly prove, through facts, the incontestable superiority of the socialist

system over any society, and the bright prospects that the new system opens up for the development of human society and for all the peoples of the world. Referring to the experience of building socialism in Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that "Through our work and activities we have proven that

socialism is the only system that ensures freedom, progress, well-being, and independence for mankind and for every nation."

The entire international revolutionary process is influenced by the socialist changes that have occurred in the world. Currently, there is no area of social evolution, of political, economic, and social life, no problem concerning class relations in the capitalist countries, the national liberation movements, international relations and ideological struggle that are not profoundly influenced by the existence of socialism. The revolutionary theory has an increasing impact on the consciousness of ever larger masses of people, and is at the center of contemporary cultural and ideological life, having thus become the genuine conscience of the times and the catalyst of the most valuable, progressive, and humanistic elements of contemporary thinking and of the struggle to build a new and superior civilization: the communist civilization.

In view of the intensified bourgeois and anticommunist propaganda carried out by reactionary and imperialist circles, our political-ideological activities must militate with renewed vigor and better results, as requested by the party secretary general, to promote progressive and advanced thinking, assert the revolutionary ideology, and the values and ideals of scientific socialism, of national freedom and independence, and of the basic right of people and nations to peace, freedom, and a dignified life.

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ROMANIA

ATTACKS BY PATRASCANU AGAINST IRON GUARD RECALLED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Jul-Aug 85 pp 345-351

[Article by Ovidiu Trasnea: "Criticism of Fascism in the Works of Lucretiu Patrascanu"]

[Text] In the year of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, a profound and manysided scientific analysis of the emergence and evolution of the fascist phenomenon becomes an obligation with multiple historical connotations. Such an analysis can and must contribute to barring the way to reactionary forces which still today view fascism as a feasible and useful tool in the struggle against revolutionary forces.

The great responsibility with which our party views this problem has been clearly highlighted by its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: "We proceed from the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the revolutionary parties and progressive forces bear the lofty national and international obligation of struggling primarily against the exploiting classes and reactionary forces in their own country. Our revolutionary patriotic spirit and our sense of national and international responsibility obligate us, in view of the lessons of history, to condemn and to firmly disassociate ourselves from the reactionary and fascist policies of the former dominating classes in our own country. This constitutes a considerable factor of political education of the masses and of endeavors to strengthen the international solidarity of the working people."¹

This perspective throws an even clearer light on the topicality and great methodological value of Lucretiu Patrascanu's analysis of fascism in Romania, its causes, and its rise in the period between the wars.

As is known,² the initial elements of fascism appeared in Romania immediately after World War I, at a time of profound social and political unrest, mounting revolutionary upsurge, and the shock that made the dominating classes seek new ways and means of survival--such as mysticism, chauvinist nationalism, pseudo patriotic and pseudo revolutionary phraseology, which they believed could channel the revolutionary orientation of the masses along a diversionist path. However, while between 1919 and 1933--the year that marked the end of the economic crisis--fascism was still rather anemic and isolated, after that date it acquired a larger scope, being favored, as L. Patrascanu pointed out, by

the policy of the governing circles toward fascism, which they used as a tool of both political and police diversion. At the same time, fascism also profited by the active support of Nazism, which had come to power in Germany and which had chosen precisely the Iron Guard, of all the Romanian fascist groups, to support. The question that arises, and to which Patrascanu devoted a revealing analysis,³ is: why the Iron Guard?

Because, at the time, it was the most active, fervent, and aggressive of all the fascist organizations, and, in comparison with the National-Christian Defense League led by A. C. Cuza, the Iron Guard represented, from an ideological, programatic, and structural-organization viewpoint, the archetype of a fascist party. As far as its theoretical platform was concerned, it demanded the establishment of a totalitarian* state through the dismantling of the parliamentary regime and the cancellation of all civil rights and public freedoms; in its foreign policy, it requested Romania's immediate entry in the Rome-Berlin Axis. At the same time, it formulated explicit anticommunist, and later racist, anti-Semitic, and xenophobic objectives. From an organizational viewpoint, it was based on paramilitary groups, trained in the school of disciplined internal war and political assassination. The entire organization, L. Patrascanu stressed, was based on a rigid hierarchy and an authoritarian structure of almost military pattern. It was precisely due to these similarities with the Hitlerite National-Socialist Party that it was chosen as the agent of Nazi Germany's interests in Romania. Here we would like to emphasize the penetrating way in which the Romanian Marxist revealed the defining traits of fascist-type parties.

In explaining the growing influence of fascist organizations in Romania, especially of the Iron Guard, Patrascanu also made an important point by stressing that they did not ape the fascist and Nazi models as much as they adapted them to the domestic environment.

In order to better understand this view, we must point out that before the rise of the Iron Guard and even during its existence, there had been a number of doctrinary tentatives, the discussion of which can contribute, we believe, to elucidating the specific traits of the fascist movement in the direction indicated by Patrascanu.

We will begin by mentioning A.C. Cuza, professor at the Iassi University and founder of the so-called National-Christian Defense League [NCDL], the first Romanian fascist party. In his work "About the People," a bio-sociological version of neomalthusian inspiration, Cuza claims that the growth of or drop in the population necessarily leads to the strengthening or weakening of the state. Like other versions of demographic determinism, this one is equally incapable of saying anything valid about the necessary stages of historical development, nor about the sense of this development. Except that A.C. Cuza meant not only the numerical aspect of the population, but he also issued the idea of population homogeneity based on the principle of racial purity. Thus, he combined demographic determinism with racism.

We must note that from a theoretical viewpoint, racism did not make any new claims in Romania; it did not go any farther than--as did, for example, Al. Randa in his work "Romanian Racism" (1940)--to assert the direct descent of

the present-day Romanians from the European rearguard of the Aryan race.* The reason for that was not only because it would have been difficult to come up with anthropological traits defining the purity of the Romanian race, as noted Professor Gall Erno of Cluj⁴, but also for another reason: the Christian orthodox mysticism--a component element of the doctrinary platform of the Iron guard--could not be reconciled with the Aryan paganism of Alfred Rosenberg. Consequently, the racial myth was converted into an ethnic myth which, in Cuza's case, for example, justified hatred for "ethnic aliens" and the need to oppress them.

The professor of Iassi also featured social-Darwinist elements, one of which was the thesis of the conflict among groups or nations with different racial structures; this gave rise to the conclusion that in a given territory, only the "native" people were entitled to utilize the indispensable means of livelihood, while foreigners could be removed--a conclusion that was reiterated in the unbridled anti-Semitism whipped up by Cuza from his lectern and through groups of "Christian" thugs which he organized and supported. Generally speaking, hatred of and national exclusivism toward the coinhabiting nationalities in Romania provided the basis for his philosophy. Another characteristic was the blending of the idea of class harmony with racial hatred.

The practical conclusion emerging from his arguments was the need to "Romanize" the capital, through which the unity of national community would be achieved: that was the only "solution" offered by Cuza to the difficult social problems of the period between the wars.

Another upholder of the fascist doctrine in Romania in the period between the wars was Mihail Manoilescu, a well known political figure who traveled from neoliberalism to the theory of the "pure and integral corporatism" and of the "single party." He attempted to differentiate between his corporatist concept and Mussolini's concept; in fact, his had more similarities with Salazar's philosophy, and only in the "Single Party" did it come closer to Italian fascism. In his book "The Century of Corporatism" (1934), first published in French, he launched the thesis of the antagonism between "plutocratic" and "proletarian" nations, which he substituted for the social contradictions of capitalism*; his solution was a corporatist society. Criticizing bourgeois liberalism and democracy from a right-wing position, he stated that in a corporatist society, the individual good, hailed and promoted by liberalism, would be replaced by the concept of organization, which, according to him, would restrict the social role of capitalist profit. We know, however, that organization depends, in the final analysis, on the mode of production and is never an autonomous, let alone decisive factor. To the principle of organization he associated that of "discapitalization," which, however, as he himself said, did not mean the elimination of capital, but only an "attenuation" of capitalism.

In another work,⁵ Manoilescu revealingly stated: "In reality, corporatism is a means of preempting explosions and revolutions that would throw society into the most terrible disarray and disruption." And who was there who could mount a revolution in 1933, a year of big railway and oil field strikes of international, aside from national significance, having constituted the first

wide-scale movement that clearly opposed the rise of fascism? Naturally, the proletariat. This definitely clarifies the political and social leanings of Mihail Manoilescu's theoretical edifice. And the means to preempt such revolutions? A corporatist state, was his answer, conceived as a sort of suprabody representing the interests of the entire society.

The motto of the corporatist state contains a double element of demagoguery: for the petty bourgeoisie it suggests merging their guild with a planned economy which would attenuate capitalist profits, while for the workers it proposes eliminating "the unilateral power of capital." In other words, Manoilescu was promising the same thing as Mussolini, when the latter claimed that the corporatist organization would remove "both capitalism and socialism," harmonize the interests of labor with those of the capital, and combine private initiative with state control. In reality, the corporations turned out to be means of subordinating the entire workers class to the fascist interests and to the interests of the owners.

Another supporter of corporatism, this time in a version closer to domestic fascism, was Nichifor Crainic, who launched the idea of "ethnocratic corporatism." His point of departure was profoundly spiritualistic. Crainic mixed in his ethnocracy formula nationalism, xenophobia, and mysticism, particularly in his programmatic-doctrinary work "Ethnocracy and Orthodoxy." There he explicitly opposed ethnocracy, as an expression of "the political will of the native race," based on the law of blood, to democracy, which allegedly favored the minorities. He proposed "ethnographic corporatism" as the state structure, which would be achieved by merging corporatism and ethnocracy, clearly in order to counter the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle. In the spirit of this militant fascist concept, he suggested "reincorporating the workers within Romania's body and soul," by which he meant involving the workers into these mystical and reactionary ideals and luring them away from Marxism and from the revolutionary movement.

The work of another thinker, "The Dialectics of Nationalism" (1932), has currently acquired a special significance in view of the assertion of the ideological strategy of the "New Right" in France, with which it shares many similarities of scope and cultural orientation. He, too, wrote in reaction to the then established antifascist front, which included the best of Romania's intellectuals, just as the "New Right" admits its intention to eliminate the intellectual monopoly of the left. The book focused on two major theses: one was a "critique"--certainly far removed from scientific criticism-- of all the rationalist philosophical currents which he accused of having set the ideological stage for Marxism. Viewed from this angle, Kant becomes no more no less than the "forefather of Leninism;" the other thesis was a savage attack on the spirit and representatives of the 1848 movement, whereby he violently negated and besmirched every truly valuable tradition in the European and national thinking.

Descending from the realm of abstract ideas to practical policies, he attempted to legitimize the attack on democracy and the need to eliminate bourgeois democracy and establish a fascist dictatorship. Here, too, we see the similarity with the theoretical structure and "axial principle" of the "New Right:" "Inequality is the sovereign law of society... The subordination

of the lower classes and the coercion exercised by the higher classes are a universal and natural social phenomenon," wrote Nicolae Rosu.⁶

Under the influence of the social-Darwinist theories of Gumplowicz and of the elitism of Mosca and Pareto, and of the racism of Gobineau, H.St. Chamberlain, Hans F.K. Guenther, or Ratzenhofer, the Chernovitsy professor of political sociology Traian Braileanu explicitly highlighted⁷ his ideological and political beliefs, which were characterized by "support of the natural inequality present in society, and particularly in the state; assertion of the dependence of state structure on race and geographical environment; the belief that the state was the product of struggle among communities," and the result of struggle among races rather than among social classes; according to him, those ideas were to found a new political science. The path of Braileanu's ideas went through the assertion of "the primate of the politic" as a means of justification of the totalitarian state and of fascist imperialism, to the glorification of the Romanian fascist "ascetic elite."

As for the Iron Guard ideology, L. Patrascanu emphasized, as we stated, the fact that the popularity of this movement at a given time and among certain social categories was due mostly to the fact that it was rooted in local elements. It also featured borrowed elements, he added, such as the ridicule of the entire modern culture for its allegedly Judaic origins, according to Alfred Rosenberg; the apotheosis of the deed born of instinct was one of the basic thesis of the national-socialist doctrine; the encouragement to pogroms was copied from Nazi literature; the demagogy of "social justice" and of the "suppression of man's exploitation by man" was simply lifted from especially invented Nazi programs for workers; the slogan "each man and his acre of land" came from Darre's agrarian demagoguery; the myth of the "captain" was inspired by the myths of the Fuhrer and the Duce, and so forth.

But, stresses Patrascanu in "Under Three Dictatorships," there were several characteristics without which the rise of Romanian fascism cannot be explained.

Thus, in contrast to German national-socialism and Italian fascism, which preserved a certain distance from religion and the ruling church, the Iron Guard--and Cuza's League, too--incorporated both the form and substance of the Christian Orthodox religion into political agitation. In the internal practices of the Romanian fascist organizations, mystical elements, including religious rite, played a predominant role; in point of fact, even the initial name of the movement in 1927 (when it split from Cuza's League) points to this element: Codreanu's faction called itself "Archangel Michael's Legion." One of the favorite slogans of the Romanian fascists was the defense of the Christian Orthodox religion and of Christianity against the "church blasting" communism.

The Orthodox mysticism helped to win over a good part of the clergy and of the theology students; and as we know, at the time the clergy had a great influence, especially in the country, on the peasantry overwhelmed by material misery and ignorance, and many priests became active fascist propagandists, while theology students joined the "death teams." The mystique woven around the person of the "Captain" and of the movement in general also attests to the importance of this element in the Romanian fascist political-ideological

platform. Combining political propaganda with the religious mysticism of part of the peasantry, and subordinating religion to political aims and incorporating it in the Iron Guard program--concludes L. Patrascanu--were undoubtedly among the characteristic traits of the Romanian fascist movement.

Another salient feature was the fact that the propaganda perfectly fitted native beliefs when it appealed to the primal instincts and primitive background of the peasantry.

Romanian fascism proclaimed the cult of death, also developed into theory by Nae Ionescu, one of the mentors of the movement. However, while for the national-socialists the cult of death assumed the form of "heroic death" and furnished one of the basic elements of militarist and war education, in the case of the Iron Guard its uses were different; they served to create the necessary atmosphere for the "heroic" assassinations carried out by the "death teams" according to lists of "condemned" compiled by the movement leaders. Thus, stresses Patrascanu, the mystic-criminal aspect of the Romanian fascist ideology constituted the third characteristic of the movement.

And finally, the fourth characteristic trait highlighted by Patrascanu was not particular to Romanian fascism only, because, after the pattern of national-socialism and fascism, it launched the idea of the need for a Romanian imperialist policy. In Romanian fascist writings we often find the idea of the heroic destiny of the Romanian people and of the "Messianic role given us by God" in this part of the world. What did this mean? As is known, like all fascist movements, Romanian fascism began as an anticommunist movement. Significantly--and Corneliu Zelea Codreanu dwelled at length on this in his work "For the Romanian Fascists"--the name he wanted to give to the movement was "The Anticommunist Falange." So the God-given "destiny" and "mission" of the Romanian nation were none other than wiping out internal communism and enrolling Romania in the warring antisoviet fascist front. The "defense of the cross," "defense of the culture," and "defense of the Christian civilization" were in fact designed to legitimize the "holy war." Significantly, this trait blended in with the conclusions of Romanian geopoliticians of the time. As we said already years ago, Romanian geopolitics drew similar conclusions from the geographical location of the country as the "eastern extremity" of capitalist Europe, concerning the "geopolitical functions of the Romanian state" or even the "military functions of the Romanian Carpathian land."⁸

The aggressive nationalism promoted by the Romanian fascists was wielded to tenaciously suggest a patriotic position, while in reality, their attitude was antinational, as attested by their contribution to suborning Romania to the interests of German fascist imperialism, and by their reaction to the Vienna diktat of 1940: theirs was the only political party that not only accepted, but even justified this act, under which part of Transylvania was ceded to the Horthysts, an act of treason toward the Romanian nation and of dismembering of the national territory.

Patrascanu posed and solved a very important problem both as a social-political diagnosis--at a time when the communist movement's concept of fascism was dominated by the definition issued by the Comintern at the 13th session of its Executive Committee in 1933, which did not at all differentiate

between fascism as a political regime and as a political movement--as well as from a theoretical-methodological viewpoint, namely what he termed the "organic dilemma" of fascism; this "organic dilemma," which Patrascanu viewed as characteristic of the Romanian fascism and as having significant connotations for Hitlerism, had been--very significantly!--identified by Gramsci as exclusive to fascism.⁹ In fact, the "organic dilemma" occurred between the political finality of the movement and the essence of the political regime established by it, in the discharge of the functions "assigned to it by the reactionary and chauvinistic leaderships and the warring leadership of the Romanian bourgeoisie and land owners" and the social composition of the movement, which was dominated by the petty bourgeoisie.¹⁰ Emphasizing the diversionist function of the social solidarity practiced by fascism under the idea of "national community"--a crucible designed to dissolve all contrary or different social interests--L. Patrascanu noted the totalitarian-authoritarian essence of any type of fascism: "The purpose of all fascist institutions... which boasted a pronounced anti-individualistic character--more gregarious than communitarian--was to strip the individual of the means to defend his own interests, stemming from his place in the society, in order to incorporate him into an easily overseen, led, and ruled body."¹¹

The analysis also reveals the support that ensured and speeded up the rise of fascism in Romania: the material aid provided by certain landlords and by some of the industrialists, interested in economic relations with Germany, which offered prices higher than international ceilings; political support in the form of freedom of agitation and propaganda--fascist publications and billboards were permitted without restriction, while leftist publications were continuously banned, hunted down, and harassed; also, movement leaders enjoyed--up to a given time--a certain immunity from punishment for crimes and law violations, while the communists and socialists, for example, were sentenced even for antifascist writings in the press. And, of course, there was also foreign support: Hitlerite aid which, in the above-mentioned conditions, speeded up the rise of fascism until it became a governing party on 6 September 1940; it has since been proven that Nazi espionage had a hand in the success of the "state coup."

Many communists, workers, and progressive intellectuals fell to the savage blows of the Iron Guard. Antifascist fighters from various social categories and political organizations rallied to denounce and preempt the fascist threat. But the social force that consistently led these actions was the workers class; and the leading political force of this struggle was the RCP, Lucretiu Patrascanu's work brilliantly testifies.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture," Bucharest, Political Publishing House [PPH], 1976, p 22.
2. Ibid., "Against Fascism," Bucharest, PPH, 1971, pp 44-52.
3. L. Patrascanu, "Under Three Dictatorships," Bucharest, PPH, 1970, chapter 11.

* And later, when the Iron Guard came into conflict with General Ion Antonescu, Horia Sima wrote a letter to Himmler demanding for the Romanian fascist movement exclusivity concerning the orthodoxy of "the idea of a totalitarian state." A. Simion, "The Political Regime in Romania Between September 1940 and January 1941," Cluj-Napoca, Dacia Publishing House, 1976, p 293, sub fine.

* A more exaggerated thesis was supported with scientific dilettantism by writer Al. Bratescu-Voinesti (1942), who declared us the direct descendents of the Pelasgians, the founders of the European civilization.

4. Gall Erno, "Bourgeois Sociology in Romania," Bucharest, PPH, 2d edition, 1963, p 219.

* Interesting to note that this attempt, together with the terminology, was cited at the present time, in a different context, by French politologue Maurice Duverger!

5. Mihail Manoilescu, "Romania as a Cooperatist State," Bucharest, 1933, p 18.

6. N. Rosu, "The Dialectics of Nationalism," Bucharest, 1932, p 359.

7. T. Braileanu, "Politics," Chernovitsy, 1928, p 14.

8. V. Mihailescu, et. al., "The Unity and Functions of the Romanian Land and People," Bucharest, 1943. For details, see O. Trasnea, "Contemporary Political Doctrines," Bucharest, CMUB, 1974, pp 96-99.

9. This substantial coincidence in the sociological and politological analysis of fascism of the two great Marxist theoreticians who arrived at their conclusion separately, is noted in "Political Doctrines of Contemporary Capitalism," Bucharest, PPH, 1977, p 67.

10. L. Patrascanu, "Romania's Basic Problems," Bucharest, State Publishing House, 1946, pp 262-263.

11. Idem., p 249.

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CSO: 2700/19

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

MINING MINISTRY CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Dan-Otto Surulescu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of mines and Comrades Marin Stefanache and Ion Lazarescu are appointed deputy ministers of mines. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 52, 22 Oct 85 p 4] /9738

CSO: 2700/27

YUGOSLAVIA

DJILAS' 'ABDICATION' FROM POLITICAL LIFE MOCKED

Zagreb VJESNIK (SEDAM DANA supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Nino Pavic: "Milovan Djilas' New Turnabout"]

[Text] This is not the first time that Djilas has changed his position. At one time, for example, he supported confederation, only to conclude quickly that a strong [preceding word published in italics] Yugoslavia was much better.

The newest somersault, meanwhile, is not without logic. Five years ago, Djilas maintained that "he would not leave the political scene as long as he lived"; somewhat later he announced that he would "remain in power for at most 2 years"; and now he is assuring the public that "he has no political ambitions."

Whatever form the opposition takes, sloppy, feeble, and unconvincing, it cannot desire such a changeable person as its leader. But what can it do when nothing better is available!

Even though it is well known inside and outside Yugoslavia that Djilas has lost influence and followers, he is still fascinating to some foreign television and radio stations and newspapers. Obviously, there are on the horizon no other, sufficiently attractive "dissident stars" who could prolong the illusion that there exists in Yugoslavia some influential leader of opposition and resistance to the political regime. And as long as no such person is available, this 72-year-old who aspires to succeed Tito will suffice, even if he is fickle. If in nothing else, he has remained firm in his consistent anticommunism and antisocialism.

Since the end of last year, when he was questioned for 18 hours on the occasion of his arrest, and later with the trial of the "Belgrade Six," Djilas' activity has increased. Having been completely forgotten, he was once more dragged onto the public scene.

One foreign newspaper even reported the news that "the Yugoslav Government had jailed Djilas, Tito's closest colleague." As if for 30 years Djilas had not been a vigorous opponent of Tito's policies. This and similar reports,

principally intended to show that communist terror was raging in Yugoslavia, caused interest in Djilas to grow once more.

But what is he saying that is of such interest abroad?

In a nutshell: The situation in Yugoslavia is not critical, but the country is being threatened with intervention from outside; self-management is not bad, but it produces nothing but chaos; communism as a world process no longer exists, but for that reason Reagan's policy is completely correct; there are no talented people at the top in Yugoslavia, there is not even a dictator. And so on.

While Djilas repeats old and familiar assertions, in Yugoslavia rightist activities have largely diverged from the classical dissident opposition and become much more subtle and complex. Thus Djilas' main occupation, in addition to amusing foreigners, has been reduced to assembling and signing various petitions and impatiently waiting to see if, by chance, someone else might call him in for questioning and thus prolong his political life.

In such a situation, which is quite miserable and hopeless for him, it is no wonder that he has decided on "abdication."

Once again, Djilas' confusion is complete: History deprived him of genuine political ambitions (and the possibility of real influence) 30 years ago.

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YUGOSLAVIA

TIGHTENED CONTROL OF INTELLECTUAL LIFE URGED

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 85 p 1

[Editorial by Gaja Petkovic: "In Crossfire From Combined Enemies--the Revolution Is the Target"]

[Text] No exaggerated political instinct is necessary to observe that the combined forces of the enemies of our society have grown so arrogant as to consider criticizing the people's liberation struggle and besmirching the achievements of the revolution to be their legal obligation. They have been conspiring against everything that is sacred and magnificent to us. There is hardly any area of social life in Yugoslavia in which their aggressive presence is not perceptible. As time passes, their attacks on the strategic commitments of our society become increasingly bitter and open. We, burdened by severe economic and social misfortunes, seem to be insufficiently observant of all this, or we fail to attribute to all this the significance which the subject deserves.

Those forces and currents which attempt to question the justification for the country's further development on the foundations of socialist self-management, and which deny a leading and avant-gard role to the working class and the LCY, are gaining strength from one day to the next. Various statisms and the bureaucracy have become so powerfully entrenched as to be able to hold onto their positions in almost all areas rigidly, without concessions. The key positions, in many places.

These forces do not shrink from direct attacks on the most brilliant achievements of the revolution. As a rule, brotherhood and unity are the focus of attack everywhere. The blackest ideas of nationalism are breaking out onto the public stage, often via the legal institutions of the system, and are combining with swelling chauvinism and crypto-irredentism and crypto-separatism to endanger the achievements of the revolution, bringing into question the country's security as well.

The realm of spiritual creativity has become the battlefield of the sharpest ideological struggle. Linguistic purism, as the expression of chauvinistic primitivism in this area, is aiming in an increasingly legal way to revive certain expressions born in the statelet of Ante Pavelic. A segment of the press, in a series of articles and memoirs, without much inhibition or

respect for anyone, is increasingly offering material containing ideas about rehabilitating the Chetnik movement, the Ustasa movement, and the Home Guard movement, about so-called national reconciliation, going so far as to glorify such crimes of the occupiers as those committed by the Horthy troops in Vojvodina Province. A tricky political campaign is being waged with the aim of reconciling the unreconcilable, of equating proven veterans of the struggle for freedom with traitors to the country and servants of the occupiers. The implications of such efforts are much more perfidious, and farther-ranging in aim, than would appear to be the case at first glance. Bringing into question the freedom-loving aims of our revolution means inevitably questioning and re-examining the role, position, and significance of the people's liberation army in wartime and during the socialist revolution. And the continuer of the traditions of that army, the armed guardian of the revolution, is the Yugoslav People's Army, as we know. Accordingly, the Yugoslav People's Army is being attacked. So brutally and insolently, in some places, that the perpetrators do not shrink from physically abusing military personnel.

"No revolution," Comrade Tito said many years ago, "can be preserved if it lacks armed forces to guard it. Such was the case in the past, such is the case today, such will be the case for a long time to come." Those who are plotting against us today seem to know this very well. Gradually and indirectly, but with increasing daring and arrogance, they are attempting to aim their poisoned arrows at the armed forces so as to diminish the undeniable reputation of the armed forces and deprive the armed forces of their undivided confidence among the people. So as to divide the armed forces from the people.

It is time to ask ourselves: can we neutralize the enemy with defensive tactics, just by defense against attacks, and by means of political phraseology? Can we fight the enemy this way indefinitely? The answer, of course, is no. If we are to defeat the enemy, and if we are to retain control in the increasingly open ideological struggle, we are obligated to resort more often to harsher measures of revolutionary democracy.

In the interests of the revolution and of preserving its achievements.

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YUGOSLAVIA

INFLUX OF NONPARTY MEMBERS INTO SAWPY LEADERSHIP URGED

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Sep 85 p 5

[Commentary by Slavoljub Djukic: "In Life's Shadow"]

[Text] Let us imagine a situation in which it would be nothing unusual for a nonmember of the League of Communists to be named to a ministerial position at the federal level. Is something like that possible?

Let us start with an easier question. How could SAWPY forums function if there were at least sufficient numbers of noncommunists so that these entities would not be what they are at present--party leaderships with a different title?

In light of certain facts, such a situation could be normal, provable by simple statistics. Although records do not exist on SAWPY membership, all adult Yugoslav citizens are members in theory, regardless of ethnic or social origin or philosophical or religious views. There are more than 17 million adult citizens, including 2.2 million LCY members.

Numerous forums in the trade-union movement, youth organization, government, economy, delegate assemblies, and managerial circles in collectives would look quite different measured against these criteria. The federations and associations of artists, where the presidents are often nonparty people, are actually closest to this mechanical proportion. Interestingly, such is not the case with athletic clubs and federations. Inasmuch as politicians and people from the economy are commonly involved with athletic management entities, leadership in practical terms is in the hands of LCY members. Inevitably, everything that happens in Yugoslav athletics is credited to communists.

Regardless of who is in power and the circumstances in which power is held, every society is an incomprehensible conglomeration in which diverse interests and views on life intermix. We have acknowledged this reality. The pluralism of self-managing interests has been legalized, and SAWPY is conceived as a front organization for all the people, as a framework for the widest possible alliance. What would happen if SAWPY forums and their makeup were to become representative of their presumed membership?

Many persons will recall that such an organization existed half a century ago, in the era of the great upsurge of the People's Front, which gathered around it everything that was progressive, while communists constituted its nucleus

and guiding force. Such was the makeup of the forums of the People's Front before the war, during the liberation struggle, and during the first years of postwar renewal. In the politically and socially fragile country that was Yugoslavia after the war, 11 of 21 ministers in the first federal cabinet were noncommunists.

Times changed, however, and the People's Front gradually lost its earlier characteristics. Not even the name People's Front was preserved as it would have been in societies with more feeling for their history and tradition. As socialist rule solidified, the character of this mass political organization changed likewise; SAWPY has never lost the aspect of a transmission belt for the LCY. If words meant anything, SAWPY has taken on an increasingly significant social role; at the same time, most of its work occurs in forums to which, aside from symbolic exceptions, LCY members have been "temporarily assigned."

Accordingly, it is no accident that so much has been said lately about the role of SAWPY and about changing the makeup of the leadership. This is certainly no purely formal question. If we recognize diverse interests and diverse views of the world, it would be natural for their advocates to be present, given at least a minimum of consensus, of course. And the overall mood of the masses shows that such a minimum is firmly in place. Specifically, it is difficult to believe that anyone would be able to gain voters' confidence without supporting the foundations of Yugoslav society: the development of socialist self-management, equality of peoples and ethnic groups, nonalignment, and the leading role of the LCY.

If SAWPY forums were to be constituted in this way, all political life would have a different substance, precisely as envisioned by the constitution, LCY program, and all political documents currently valid. The trade unions and youth organization would look different. The delegate assemblies would no longer resemble expanded party committees. It would be natural for scientists, scholars, cultural workers, and many others to find a place for themselves there. In that case, nonparty members in the federal cabinet would not be unusual.

Most importantly, the LCY would also change. Everyone who is interested in and connected with the LCY as a springboard for advancement in life would drift away. To be sure, the number of members would no longer be 2.2 million, but society would have an ideological force capable of acting on the political stage much more responsibly and with greater unity.

Following these unrestrained reflections, which refer back to the historical experiences of our communist movement and its programmatic commitments, it remains for us to return to realistic political ground. Everything that we have been saying is difficult to achieve under present circumstances.

The first reason is the deeply-rooted idea that no significant function in society, and especially no political function, can be occupied without a party membership booklet. This practice is most clearly evident in notices of competitive vacancies, where "moral/political suitability" is an important requirement, to be proven by LCY membership.

After "moral/political suitability" was legalized in 1973, characteristically, the number of LCY members rose by 1.1 million in the succeeding 8 years, while at the same time large numbers of LCY members were retiring. Regardless of the fact that this interval coincided with a dynamic period in the LCY, we have reasons to reflect on this fact.

Likewise, it is a matter of scholarly record that political involvement is limited to approximately 7 to 8 percent of the population. We can conclude accordingly that only the LCY, with 10 percent of the population, has achieved this maximum of political involvement. In the majority of instances, the LCY has attracted individuals drawn for any reason to politics. The makeup of all other sociopolitical forums, assembly entities, and social organizations follows logically from this.

But that is not all. Diverse approaches, alternatives, and the pluralism of self-managing interests, which all ought to be characteristic of SAWPY, find increasing scope in the LCY, especially in leadership entities. Hence the impression that everything is concentrated in the LCY and that the disappearance of any other organization from the political scene would be almost imperceptible.

For this reason, profound changes in political life, the functioning of the system, and a way out of the crisis on a democratic platform of self-management cannot be imagined without the transformation of SAWPY. Referring to delegate assemblies, Aleksandar Grlickov was telling us 2 days ago that we ought to elect larger numbers of "capable and honest persons who are not LCY members, who are SAWPY members whose activity on the job can win the confidence of voters." Under current circumstances, Grlickov added, "elections must be understood as an act of historic responsibility."

The Constitutional Court has rejected the distorted meaning of "moral/political suitability" as unlawful. The concept is no longer mentioned publicly, although--of course--moral questions are increasingly becoming the prime questions of our society. So long as the spirit of "suitability" exists in everyday life, however, a revitalized Socialist Alliance is difficult to imagine.

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